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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 April 1982

CHINA REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### INDIA'S RAO NOTES 'NORMALIZATION' OF PRC TIES

OW161912 Beijing XINHUA in English 1839 GMT 16 Feb 82

[Text] Bangkok, 16 Feb (XINHUA)--Indian External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao left here today after a short visit to Thailand.

Upon his arrival at the airport here at noon Monday after a visit to Vietnam, Rao told reporters: "India has friendly relations with both Vietnam and Thailand. My mission is to understand the situation."

At a news conference today, he said that because India has relations with ASEAN and Indochinese countries, it "is helping in the evolution of a solution" to regional problems.

During his stay in Thailand, the Indian foreign minister held talks with his Thai counterpart Sitthi Sawetsila and with Thai Deputy Prime Minister Thanat Khoman.

A Thai Foreign Ministry spokesman disclosed to journalists Monday that during the Thai-Indian foreign ministers talks, Sitthi stood firm on his country's original position on the Kampuchean problem. Rao said at today's news conference that although different views were apparent during his talks with Thai leaders, both India and Thailand seek peace. "We have accorded recognition to the Heng Samrin government," he said. "The ASEAN countries do not have the same view. That is one point of difference which everyone knows."

Asked by a XINHUA correspondent if India supports ASEAN's proposal calling for Vietnamese troops to withdraw from Kampuchea, he said India stands for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Palestine.

Questioned by a Soviet reporter on China's policy toward Southeast Asia, the Indian foreign minister replied: "I would like to comment as little as possible on that. Our relations with China are in a process of normalization."

CSO: 4000/77

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEWSPAPERS' ROLE LIKE THAT OF CENSORS IN IMPERIAL DAYS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Ruø Shui [5387 3055]: "Further Discussion of Song Taizu's Fear of the Censors"]

[Textp NANFANG RIBAO reported that Lin Jingyi [2651 2417 6146], assistant manager of the United Enterprises Company on Heping Road in Shenchuan City, had committed transgressions by trafficking in smuggled good for private gain. Later he picked a quarrel, caused a disturbance, and tore off the doorplate at the Correspondents Center. In the meantime, Lin Jingyi has been dismissed from his post and expelled from the party. This case may therefore now be considered closed and a thing of the past, but it made me think of the story of "Song Taizu's Fear of the Censors," which was discussed in the press not so long ago. (See RENMIN RIBAO 19 Dec 81 p 4).

The institution of the "shiguan" [censors, or historiographers] appeared very early in our country's history. In the "Lichi" ["Record of Rites"], the Literary Culture Chapter says: "Actions were recorded by the historiographer of the left; words were recorded by the historiographer of the right." In the "Hanshu Yiwenzhi" ["Essay on Literature in the Han Dynasty History"] it says: "The historiographer of the left records the spoken words; the historiographer of the right records the deeds." In the Han Dynasty the office of "Qijuzhu" ["Recorder of Activity and Repose"] was first established to keep a diary of the Emperor's spoken words and activities. In the "Hou Hanshu" ["History of the Latter Han Dynasty"], we read in the "Biography of Cai Yong," "Wang Yun said: Emperor Wudi did not kill Sima Qian, and allowed his defamatory writings to remain preserved for posterity." Zhang Huai commented: "The historiographer has to record everything, whether good or bad. Speaking of Sima Qian's work, the "Shiji," his records of the unsavory affairs of the House of Jan are all defamatory and do not concern only Emperor Wudi alone." Song Taizu knew that the historiographers would record all his actions and behavior, so he did not dare to depart from correct conduct, and he would quickly correct any mistakes that had been made. Some writers on this subject were deeply touched by these facts and wrote: Our high-ranking cadres may still be able to learn something from the experiences of certain feudal monarchs in our history. However this may be, we cannot allow our system and stule of work to be inferior to the system in those days. This point really deserves our attention.

The fact that Song Taizu corrected himself whenever he had made a mistake is of course commendable, but we must not overlook the function of the historiographers. Indeed, what happened first was that the historiographer took writing brush in hand and truthfully recorded what he had observed, and only as a consequence of this did Song Taizu realize his mistakes and choose to correct himself. If the historiographer had covered up the mistakes, the Emperor would have had nothing to fear. Fortunately, there is an excellent tradition of truthfulness in our country's historiography. In the Spring and Autumn Period, Cui Shu, grand secretary of the State of Qi, killed his sovereign, Prince Zhuang. The chief historiographer recorded, "Cui Shu killed his sovereign," whereupon Cui Shu killed that historiographer. The succeeding chief historiographer made the same entry and was also killed, and the same happened with the third historiographer. When the fourth one recorded the fact in the same manner, Cui Shu was at a loss as to what to do and gave up. How we read in the "Zuo zhuan," as it has come down to us, not only that "Cui Shu killed his sovereign," but also the story of the murders of the historiographers, so who came out victorious? Mencius said that when Confucius compiled the "Spring and Autumn Annals," he spread fear among "rebellious statesmen and bad sons." The favorable or unfavorable assessments in history books had a powerful influence; as the saying has it: "One word of praise is more glorious than an Emperor's raiments; one word of reprimand is more painful than the executioner's ax." Of course, the criteria used by the ancients to make evaluations are not always the same as ours today, but if at least the facts are clearly stated, there remains an objective base for evaluation. The values in such assessments can change, but the facts do not change, so it is of primary importance in this connection that "facts be truthfully recorded." This was not easy to do. If the Emperor feared his historiographers, did the historiographers not fear the Emperor? Those few historiographers in the State of Qi were fearless, but there were also those who were afraid, and they would then distort history. We cannot blame this solely on the historiographers, but must also look at the conditions which made it impossible for them to "record truthfully." Liu Zhiji of the Tang Dynasty expressed this in his "Shi Tong" with a sigh of regret: "From ancient times we only hear of truthful writers having been put to death, but we don't hear of writers having been punished for distorting facts." "Life is like this, and so it is difficult to rebuke the historiographers for not being stiff-necked or having an unbending morality."

The feudal rulers of China, for the sake of ensuring a long and peaceful rule of their dynasties, also gave consideration to ways and means to protect the right of the historiographers to make truthful records; and of these measures was the rule that the Emperor was not to see the records of the historiographers. The "Tanghui Yao" ["Compendium of Tang Institutions"] records: "The Emperor Taizong said to his remonstrating counselor Chu Suiliang: 'Since you recently have been an official in charge of recording the deeds and actions of the Emperor, what kinds of affairs have you recorded? Generally, is the ruler allowed to examine the records or not?' Chu Suiliang replied: 'The present recording official corresponds to the ancient historiographers of the left and the right. In recording the ruler's words and actions, good and evil must be written down so that the ruler will not act improperly. I have never heard that rulers could themselves personally examine the histories of their reigns.' Taizong thus was tactfully rebuffed. However, he did not let the matter stand at that. He later addressed a similar question to Fang Zueling,



declaring that his purpose in inspecting the history of the country was to take any bad deeds as a warning, and that he had no other intention. This time he actually succeeded in inspecting the records, but "Fang Zueling had deleted some parts and abridged other parts before presenting the history to the Emperor." It was not easy for a monarch to see these records and even more difficult for him to make willful alterations to them.

We now have no more "historiographers of the left and the right" or "recorders of activity and repose," but for a great number of historians there are still the newspapers. In a certain sense, the newspapers are the historiographers of today. They record the news day by day, and the news will in due course become history. Every day, millions of newspapers are being published throughout the country, and in addition there are radio and television broadcasts which are of even greater influence. Whatever the news, whether it concerns big or small people, good or bad affairs, once it is published in the newspapers or broadcast over the radio, it becomes known to the people of the entire nation. Some of the more important news items are even transmitted to foreign countries. This is far beyond what was possible in the era of the ancient historiographers.

A comrade working in a local newspaper told me the following story: The party secretary of one of their local units had occupied more housing than he was entitled to. The masses raised objections and his superiors criticized him, but he still would not budge. Some time later, when he heard that the newspaper would publish the case, he softened, quickly wrote a self-criticism, and relinquished the extra housing. His only request was for one thing: that nothing be published in the newspaper. This was still a good case, in that he became afraid and was capable of reforming, somewhat like Song Taizu. Lin Jingyi's case was different, as his sentiments turned from fear to hatred and he finally even retaliated. However, he was after all only an ordinary assistant manager of a company who, it seems, did not think of anything worse than ripping off a doorplate. With more powerful people, things would not be so simple; they could exercise much greater pressure on the press.

The most ruthless still were the "gang of four." They controlled all propaganda media--newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations--and fomented counterrevolutionary public opinion on a large scale. They blackened the names of veteran revolutionary cadres and glorified their own public image, and one may well say that they did so on a scale and with a momentum that was without precedent. But what was the good of it? History is after all written by the people, and wasn't the "gang of four's" topsyturvy picture of history set right by the Historical Resolution that was passed at the Sixrh Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee?

Recently the papers have continuously reported on a series of criminal activities in the economic field, revealing scandals involving certain cadres. We reckon that possibly even worse cases may occur in the future, involving cadres of much higher rank. Our present struggle has a direct bearing on the rise or decline, prosperity or fall of our party and state. At this juncture, therefore, it is of great benefit and a necessity that the newspapers appropriately increase reporting of such matters. Corrupt officials fear it most if condemnation in the press is added to their legal punishment. Of course, fear

of the press is not limited to corrupt officials; cadres with unhealthy tendencies also must have scruples. This is precisely due to the great power of the press, which, as we can clearly see, is a weapon of which we must make good use.

Of course, correspondents are not "uncrowned kings." Newspapers must submit to the leadership of the party and must also accept the supervision of the people. It was certainly a good thing for the historiographers of ancient times to guard the secret of their recordings, but who knows whether they were really fair and impartial? Newspaper readers today number in the millions; they simultaneously act as supervisors of the newspapers. Whenever reports are at variance with the facts or commentaries are unfair and partial, the readers have the right to criticize and the newspapers have the duty to correct their statements. Some will even have to make self-criticisms. If Lin Jingyi had asked the newspaper to "clarify the facts," he would have been within his rights, quite apart from the question of what the true facts of the case had actually been, but he had not right to rip off the doorplate. It was therefore quite in order for the Guangzhou municipal party secretary to back up the newspaper. From the standpoint of the newspapers, their responsibility is toward the party and toward the people, which also means toward factual truth and toward history.

9808

CSO: 4005/649

## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRES' ACCEPTING GIFTS SETS DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Wu Xiao [0702 0876]: "'Not To Be Taken As a Precedent,' and 'Using This as a Precedent'"]

[Text] Reading Li Zhi's "Chutanji" ["First Collection From a Lakeside"] late one evening, I came across a story in the early parts of the book, which told that one day when Liu Yan, a man of the Tang Dynasty, was visiting the house of Senior Grand Secretary Li Guang, he unwittingly noticed that the door curtain in Li Guang's house was badly worn. Liu furtively took the measurements of the door, and after returning home he wove a new curtain from strips of bamboo, with the idea of presenting the new curtain to Li Guang. Liu approached Li Guang's house three times, but each time he was afraid to enter. Finally he took the door curtain back to his own home.

After reading this episode I quietly pondered the question for myself: What was it that Liu Yan was afraid of?

Indeed, Liu Yan knew very well that all his life Li Guang had been an incorruptibly honest official of high moral integrity. Whatever pretext anybody, whoever he may be, might use for presenting him anything, the donor not only would meet with refusal but also would be severely criticized by Li Guang. This turned by thoughts to a certain type of cadres that we have nowadays. Basically they strongly disapprove of all unhealthy tendencies in society, but when it happens that somebody brings a present to their door, they will little by little give in until they reach the stage that they feel "it would be ungracious to decline a great kindness," then retreat to assert that "this must not be a precedent," and finally accept the present. The result is that things go contrary to one's original intentions, and from "this must not be a precedent" it becomes "this is to be the rule from now on." The donor will use all kinds of pretexts to present you with whatever you like or desire to have, one thing after another, and when this has gone on for some time, it will have become standing practice. Another "bright idea" that could provide a good "justification:" "If I were really to refuse the present, would it not give people the impression that I was assuming a haughty manner, would it not make it difficult for them to become friendly with me, and thus would I not be divorcing myself from the people!" In the end, there will be connivance with the wrongdoing of others and a yielding to their soft talk. The good precepts of "not letting personal considerations interfere with the execution

of public duties" and "adhering to one's correct principles" become perverted to "turning a blind eye to certain things," and an attitude of "since you are doing it, I will do it too," thus making it a mutual custom. How can unhealthy tendencies be controlled and stopped this way?

Thinking these thoughts, I could not but feel greater admiration for Li Guang. I think certain of our comrades are really too mean. You are cadres of the state, exercising the great power bestowed on you by the people--a power acquired with no small amount of difficulty! It was paid for with the blood and sweat of innumerable martyrs, and won in several decades of revolution. Good, it is now in your hands. It did not cost you one bullet or the slightest effort, but for the sake of a bottle of wine, a cigarette, some pounds of a special product, a black-market deal, or a small bit of assistance to buy or do something, you are surrendering that power to others, giving them the green light in some matters, galloping around for them, working in their service, putting in a good word for them, making things easy for them, and letting some people incur a little sacrifice to get favors out of you. Say, is that stupid or not? I would therefore suggest that these comrades would do well to read a little of the "Chutanji" in their leisure hours.

Actually, it is not difficult to act as Li Guang did. We are members of the Communist Party, we are the servants of the people, and we have two pieces of wise counsel clearly set out before us:

1. Reject corruption and never allow yourselves to become contaminated. Refuse all presents, regardless of who sends them.
2. Conduct all affairs strictly according to correct principles. In this way, people with evil intentions will desist, because they will know that sending you presents will accomplish nothing. In that case, why would they go to the trouble! Comrades who really act with good intentions will be able to respect your honesty even more, just as Liu Yan did, and will desist voluntarily, thereby enhancing your moral integrity. If these principles are observed, what difficulty would there be in overcoming unhealthy tendencies?

9808

CSO: 4005/652

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF LIU'S WRITINGS TO PARTY BUILDING STRESSED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Lin Mu [2651 3668] and Zou Fuxiang [6760 1381 4382]: "Raise the Entire Party's Marxist Theoretical Level; Study the First Volume of the 'Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi'"]

[Text] Building the party was one of the magic weapons of the CCP in defeating our enemies during the period of the democratic revolution. The greatest contribution toward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought rendered by Comrade Liu Shaoqi was with respect to party building. A fairly large number of articles in the "Selected Works" recount how our party was built into a politically, ideologically, and organizationally solid revolutionary party of the proletariat. Comrade Shaoqi's theories on party building nurtured and taught one whole generation of party members; they were extremely effective in strengthening party spirit, in upholding our party's character as the vanguard of the proletariat, and in strengthening the party's leadership in various kinds of revolutionary work.

In the field of party building, Comrade Shaoqi unswervingly placed in the most prominent position the raising of the theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In Comrade Shaoqi's views, party building must afford priority to the strengthening of ideology, and the key link in this is the strengthening of the theoretical base. He said: "In our party building, the most important question above all is the question of ideological reconstruction--that is, to educate and remold our party members by means of Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the proletariat--and especially the question of the revolutionary elements of the petty bourgeoisie, i.e., the question of conducting struggle against all unproletarian ideologies within the party and overcoming them." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 327)

Regarding the extreme importance of revolutionary theory for a state, a nation, a class, and a political party, many brilliant expositions have been made by our revolutionary proletarian mentors. On this point Comrade Shaoqi developed scientific conclusions of a truly revolutionary teacher when he said: "If the theory is correct and the guiding direction is correct, the revolution will be victorious; otherwise it cannot win victory." (Op. cit., p 409) In his opinion, the spirit of our party in its arduous struggle and

heroic sacrifices, as well as its ability to propagandize among the masses and organize the masses, is most outstanding and rarely has been seen in the international communist movement. However, immediately after its inception, our party entered an intense and very real struggle without sufficient preparedness in Marxist-Leninist theory. This was a great weakness. The greatest losses suffered by our party in all its history have been due to several serious mistakes in guidance and direction of the revolutionary movement. In summing up these historical experiences, Comrade Shaoqi clearly pointed out: "If we are able to ensure that no serious errors of principle occur in the various areas of our direction of the revolutionary movement, it will amount to a guarantee of victory for the Chinese revolution." (Op. cit., p 293)

In what way can we ensure that no serious errors of principle occur in our party's direction of the revolutionary movement? In Comrade Shaoqi's opinion, an important way would be to demand that our party members, primarily our cadres, raise their political awareness and learn to distinguish between true and false Marxism. He said: "There is true and false Marxism, and there are true and false Marxists. The differentiation between the two must not be made on the basis of the subjective opinions of individuals, for there are objective standards for it."

In order to raise the [level of] awareness throughout the entire party, Comrade Shaoqi, basing himself on the historical experience of the struggle between the true Marxists, represented by Mao Zedong, and the false Marxists, represented by Chen Duxiu, Wang Ming, and others, brilliantly expounded the specific differences between true and false Marxism and the scientific method of distinguishing between the two. What is a true Marxist? The fundamental specialty of true Marxists is conformity of actions with words; they talk Marxist and act Marxist. They pay particular attention to determining the methods and measures for the implementation of Marxism that are appropriate to the time and place in question. When they determine directions and policies, they do not look for equal or similar events in history, but look at the conditions around them as revealed through their own investigations and studies. In their work they do not base themselves on references and fixed statements in books, but rather on the experience of actual practice, and they furthermore use practical experience to check every step in their work. They learn, and teach others, from the lessons gained in the course of their own experiences so as to promote further progress in their work. False Marxists are Marxists in words only, but not in their actual deeds. Their basic specialty is lack of conformity between their words and their deeds. When they study problems, determine policy, and engage in work, they do not start out from reality or from the results of their own investigations and research, but rather from formulas they find in books or from historical analogies. They take as their basis particular words and phrases of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and on particular articles or terms in certain resolutions. The danger of men of this kind is that they sound as if they know more about Marxism than anybody else and in outer appearances they appear to be more revolutionary than anybody else. This can intimidate and deceive many a worker-peasant cadre and naive young comrade; even old seasoned comrades who have much work experience but lack deep theoretical roots are often deceived and captivated by them. However, they are most

afraid of being tested by means of actual practice, most afraid of having their work tested with a critical spirit. Comrade Shaoqi therefore said: "It is necessary to discern this type of men and expose their true nature from their practice, their work, their method of conceptualizing problems and handling problems, and from an examination of the results of their works." (Op. cit., p 298) This is an absolutely axiomatic truth.

Today a conscientious study of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's ideas on raising our awareness of what is true and what is false Marxism is of the greatest significance for the further elimination of the pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as for our ability to overcome "leftist" and rightist ideological influences, to deepen our understanding of the Resolution passed at the Sixth Plenum, to raise the consciousness and level of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought throughout the entire party, to stimulate a revolutionary spirit, and to build up a socialist material and spiritual culture.

Many comrades are now painfully and deeply aware of the serious danger that false Marxism and dogmatism present to our revolutionary cause. However, many comrades are still insufficiently informed of the harmfulness of another erroneous trend in our party--namely, empiricism. Comrade Shaoqi fought unremittingly on two fronts: against dogmatism and against empiricism. Based on the historical experiences of the party, the "Resolution on Certain Questions of History," passed by the Seventh Plenum of the Sixth CCP Central Committee, contained an extremely brilliant analysis of this problem. It pointed out that throughout the history of our party, empiricism frequently appeared as an appendage to dogmatism and in combination with it. "The history of our party confirms the fact that dogmatists alone are hardly able, without the cooperation of empiricists, to exercise a pernicious influence on the party as a whole; but once dogmatism is defeated, it is empiricism that constitutes the major obstruction to the development of Marxism-Leninism within the party." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," one-volume edition, p 990). This conclusion is not only of far-reaching theoretical significance but also of major practical significance.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," some of our comrades who had accepted and put into practice the mistaken policy of the two "whatevers" were taking certain specific viewpoints of Comrade Mao Zedong as immutable dogma. An even larger segment of them simply lacked a deep theoretical foundation and powers of discernment; they merely relied on a very narrow and limited set of experiences in conducting their affairs. After the erroneous policy of the two "whatevers" was criticized, and after a practical and realistic ideological line was reinstated in the party, those who now doubt the four basic principles and the line, principles, and policies of the Third Plenum of the party are--apart from individual hostile elements--segments of intellectuals and of youths who, for the most part, are unable to distinguish false Marxism from true, or who are influenced by the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. Among the ranks of cadres, they are mostly those who have neglected revolutionary theory and accepted certain obsolete, narrow, and limited experiences as universal truth. It is therefore necessary now for us not only to continue our efforts against subjective dogmatism, but even more importantly to overcome subjective empiricism.

In his "How to be a Good Communist," "Reply to Comrade Song Liang," and "A Talk to the First Class at the Marxism-Leninism Institute," Comrade Shaoqi explained in depth the dangerous nature of empiricism and the need to overcome it. He demanded that all party members and cadres exert themselves in studying, raise their understanding of Marxist theory, firmly uphold the unity of theory and practice, and become good students of Marx and Lenin. He severely criticized various erroneous views such as the empiricists' neglect of theoretical study, and their disregard for the directional function of Marxism-Leninism. At a certain time in the early days of the CCP, some were opposed to party members' carrying out penetrating studies of theory, and they criticized those comrades who did engage in such penetrating studies as forming an "academic faction." It was precisely this erroneous view that jeopardized efforts to raise the theoretical level within the party. Comrade Shaoqi pointed out that in actual fact, any person with a fair understanding of Marxism-Leninism had to have gone through a stage of serious study of books. Even Marx and Lenin had been such men. In opposing dogmatism, we oppose downgrading practice, divorcing ourselves from practice in our study of theory, and turning Marxism into a dogma, but we do not oppose study and research in revolutionary theory. Some excuse their neglect of the study of theory by a fear of committing the mistake of dogmatism, saying that the study of theory brings with it the danger of committing dogmatism. Comrade Shaoqi said in reply: Is there really a danger of committing dogmatism? This danger is always present. However, it is also dangerous if one ceases to study because of a fear of dogmatism; that is called empiricism. There are also some people who think it will do to merely immerse oneself in hard work, for then there is no need to gain an understanding of Marxist-Leninism theory; [such persons] say that one can acquire a position of leadership or become a cadre whether one has studied or not. Comrade Shaoqi severely criticized this erroneous sentiment. He said: "You have accomplished many things and also have done good work, but you are still not competent to be cadres. Under correct leadership you can perform well, but without correct leadership you cannot do a proper job; you would not be able to determine the proper direction on your own." "If one wants to be counted a good cadre and qualified to do leadership work, one must be able to determine the proper direction on one's own. This requires knowledge of Chinese matters and of foreign matters; it also requires theoretical knowledge as well as practical experience." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," pp 416-417) It also deserves to be pointed out that there is at present a trend among many of our party members and cadres to look down on conscientious book study, and especially to look down on systematic study of theory. If there is now an upsurge among young students and young staff and workers to study technology and acquire a specialization, this is very good. However, there is now great indifference toward the study of politics and Marxism, and this is bad. When selecting and employing new cadres, some of our persons in leading positions emphasize predominantly practice experiences, but they pay insufficient attention to the level of knowledge of Marxist theory, or even go so far as to label indiscriminately as a "bookworm" any cadre who is interested in studying and reading, believing that a cadre with theoretical knowledge will of necessity be divorced from reality. This also is not good. We must resolutely rectify this erroneous trend of neglecting or even looking down on the study of Marxist theory. When training, examining, selecting, and employing party or



government cadres, especially for leadership positions, our leadership organs of all ranks must consider the candidate's awareness and level of Marxism an important condition. At the same time, cultural and scientific knowledge, special vocational knowledge, and practical experience must also be given serious attention. Every one of us, members of the CCP and cadres in the party and in the government, must consider it a primary duty to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Cadres in special vocations and the broad masses of staff and workers must also allot a certain amount of their time to studying and acquiring the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Shaoqi said: "We must learn from the founders of Marxism-Leninism, [take them] as our models, and become their most faithful and most diligent students. This is of course not easy, but if we only have the firm will and resolve to engage in arduous struggle for the cause of communism and assiduously study Marxism-Leninism during the great struggle of the masses, if we are good at summing up experiences, carry out a tempering of ourselves and a self-cultivation in every respect, and if we devote our whole life to struggle in the cause of proletarian communism, then we can indeed become the most faithful and excellent students of the founders of Marxism-Leninism." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," p 108) This is the appeal that Comrade Shaoqi directed to all comrades in the party 40 years ago. Today it is still the common objective of every single one of our revolutionary cadres--particularly of every leading cadre in his tempering of himself and in his self-cultivation.

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CSO: 4005/654

## PARTY AND STATE

### REVOLUTIONARY ZHANG WENTIAN'S TEACHING ON COMMUNIST CONDUCT PRAISED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Xin Qin [6580 4440]: "Always Pay Attention to the Party's Influence"]

[Text] I want to begin this article with an anecdote about Comrade Zhang Wentian, a revolutionary of the older generation:

When his son Zhang Hungsheng [1728 5725 3932] went to Zhaoqing, Guangdong, for a reunion with his family in 1972, he sought counsel from his father as to whether he could ask his organization to change his station so that he could move closer to his home to take care of his elderly parents. At that time, his father was 70 years old and his mother close to 70 years old. Although Hungsheng's request for transfer for the reason that his parents were in poor health and needed somebody to take care of them was justified, his father disagreed and said to his son: "Don't do that. At this time of national economic difficulties, you are not allowed to set a bad precedent." Recalling this profound teaching, Hungsheng said: "At no time and under no circumstances did my father ever forget the party's interests."

In dealing with people and in doing business, many outstanding Communist Party members have always considered the party's interests as a matter of primary concern, and have been unwilling to do anything harmful to the party. In this connection, they say: "Before you do anything, think it over and ask yourself this question: Will it adversely affect the party?" "One must habitually weigh everything carefully and ask oneself whether his behavior is compatible with the 'guiding principles'." "Before doing anything, you must first size up the situation and ask yourself whether the things that are to be done are in conflict with the party constitution." These are party members ranging in rank from higher to lower levels who, before making statements or taking action, always want to take into consideration the impact on the party. In dealing with people and in doing business, they are always mindful of the party's interests, and under no circumstances are they inclined to do anything harmful to the party. These are indeed the excellent qualities of Communist Party members as reflected in their exemplary conduct and self-discipline, and they constitute a demonstration of commitment to the preservation of the party's prestige and a display of loyalty to the party's cause. If all other Communist Party members on all fronts follow suit, it is certain that our party's brilliant image will be swiftly restored.

In real life, however, and in the minds of some party members, the credibility and image of the party do not mean much. As long as the things that are to be done are "in their interests," they seldom think of the impact their actions may have on the party. If you conduct an investigation into this matter, you will find that those party members who are affected by unhealthy styles of work, who cannot get along with the masses, and who are accused of violating party discipline and state laws have at least one thing in common: they are interested in seeking special privilege, in seeking to establish various personal connections, in making a profit, and in practicing favoritism and other unhealthy styles of work. In doing so, they never mind whether their actions will have an adverse impact on the party; they even want to disavow completely their affiliation with the party, forgetting that they are Communist Party members. These are party members whose minds are dominated by bourgeois individualistic self-interest. Their wrongdoings will only result in damaging the party, its prestige, and its image; in widening the gap between the party and the masses; in "smearing" the standardbearers of the party; and in gravely jeopardizing the party's cause. As everyone knows, whether a member of the political party in power can coordinate his statements, actions, behavior, business deals, and other work with the party's policies, principles, and criteria for Communist Party members will have a direct impact on the party's credibility and fighting power. Practical performances by party members and cadres are something that have always been used by the masses as a yardstick for assessing and judging the merits of the party. Those party members who are committed to the preservation of the party's image and interests, who have no intention of seeking private interests of their own, and who have devoted themselves to serving the people wholeheartedly have been praised by the masses as the people's servants who are wholeheartedly devoted to the public interest, and as the party's vanguards and models. Others who do not care about whether their actions will affect the party, who always give first consideration to their own selfish interests, and who are accused of trespassing on the people's interests have been criticized by the masses as titular party members, "second-class citizens," and bureaucratic overlords interested in "seeking personal gain." It goes without saying that persons of this kind have disqualified themselves from representing the people. But as a result of their disgraceful acts, they have also disqualified themselves from party membership and have caused the party's prestige to be lowered. This is why urgent steps should be taken to educate them and stern measures should be adopted to deal with them.

Before doing anything, whether a party member can take into account the impact his action may have on the party directly reflects his sense of deep or light commitment to the party as well as the strengths and weaknesses of his party character. As long as we can bear in mind the impact our actions may have on the party and we can have a high sense of responsibility as Communist Party members, we will be able to broaden our vision, gain strength and courage to overcome difficulties, strive to bring glory to our party, serve the people's interests, and never cease to look forward. Likewise, on the other hand, if we always bear in mind the impact our actions may have on the party, as well as the criteria for Communist Party members, we will be able to distinguish right from wrong, understand principles, strengthen our resistance against unhealthy tendencies, and consciously and firmly resist the temptation to violate party discipline and state laws or to do thing that may be harmful to the party.

We must restore the glory to the party. In doing so, we must play a direct and personal role, begin to get things done bit by bit in connection with our daily activities and our work and study programs, and always bear in mind the impact our actions may have on the party. Only in this way can we become good party members capable of defending the party's interests and of bringing glory to the party.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANXI CADRES BUILDING HOMES AT STATE EXPENSE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by RENMIN RIBAO correspondents Ma Ming [7456 2494] and Yuan Tingyu [0626 1694 3768]: "Resolutely Correct the Unhealthy Tendency of Cadres Building Private Houses"]

[Text] The Shanxi Provincial Party Committee and the Shanxi Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline have taken measures to help party committees at all other levels rectify the party's workstyle and bring under control the unhealthy trend resulting from the inclination of state cadres to build homes for themselves. The overwhelming majority of state cadres who have begun to build homes for themselves or are ready for such construction in various localities have suspended their projects, while awaiting instructions for their proper disposal. Many of the cadres accused of misconduct in the course of building private homes have acknowledged their wrongdoing and have actively made compensation for the economic loss. Cadres from 671 households throughout the province have paid the state and their collectives 308,364 yuan in compensation for the cost of raw materials, transportation and construction.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, a total of 12,593 cadres have undertaken to build homes for themselves. Among them are 204 leading cadres at country and higher levels, 4,152 leading cadres at commune and bureau levels, and 8,237 ordinary cadres. Some of them have made unauthorized use of farmland of production teams, in violation of regulations, and have taken advantage of state or collective materials, motor vehicles, and labor force for this purpose. A few have taken advantage of their official positions to take possession of the farmland unlawfully and to embezzle state or collective funds. Even worse is the fact that some have tried to attain their aim by various tricks, blackmail, and extortion and by using the party's principles as a trade. In this way, they have aroused the strong indignation of the masses. In some localities, cadres and commune members have filed joint petitions against this practice. In other localities, commune members have caused the walls built by cadres for their private home to collapse.

To keep this unhealthy tendency in check, last year the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee approved and circulated the "Outline of Suggestions on Correcting the Unhealthy Tendency of State Cadres in the Course of Private Home Construction: [put out] by the Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline,

which has made the endeavor to correct the unhealthy tendency of cadres' intending to build homes for themselves an important part of rectification of the party's workstyle. In his speech to a meeting of responsible comrades of the prefectural and county party committees called by the provincial party committee, Huo Shilian [7202 1102 1670], first secretary of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee, repeatedly mentioned the problem caused by cadres' intending to build homes for themselves, and pointed out that this problem is serious and needs to be conscientiously solved by party committees at all levels. Various prefectural and county party committees have listed the proposal to seek a solution to the problems resulting from cadres' inclination to build homes for themselves as one of the items on their agenda, have extended ideological education to such cadres, and have helped them to study the party's relevant policies and regulations and to learn from the party's excellent tradition and workstyle, with the aim of strengthening their party character and their sense of discipline. In some localities, improvements have been made in the organization of meetings on party life, and criticism and self-criticism have been launched.

The provincial and prefectural party committees have devoted direct attention to problems caused by more influential and more responsible cadres' intending to build homes for themselves, and have handled their cases in a serious manner. Jin Wenbing [2516 2429 0365] is deputy secretary of the Hejin County Party Committee [in Yunchong Prefecture]. Since the beginning of last May, he has embezzled from the state and collective treasuries more than 12,000 yuan and has used it to build for himself a two-story concrete pile structured townhouse complete with individual gardens. The townhouse has a floorspace of 368.4 square meters. This has drawn strong criticism from the masses. Through consultations, the Yuncheng Prefectural Party Committee has sent a working team, headed by its deputy secretary Li Pengfei [2621 772- 7378], to Hejin County to investigate the case in coordination with comrades sent by the Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline. They have concluded a swift investigation of this case with a report to the party committees at higher levels calling for serious handling of it.

In order to solve problems caused by cadres' misconduct in building homes for themselves, the Shanxi Provincial Commission for Inspection of Discipline recently adopted the "Regulations Dealing With the Violations of the Private Homebuilding Code by State Cadres," which stipulates: There are state cadres who have abused their power in order to build private homes for themselves on public land they have taken by force, utilizing large amounts of money and materials they have taken from the state and collectives, and who have mobilized labor force, tools, and equipment for this purpose without compensation. All homes built in this manner shall be confiscated and made part of public property. State cadres--no matter whether they live in urban and rural areas--who have made unauthorized use of state or collective capital and funds in order to build homes for themselves are required to reimburse such expenditures in full not later than the scheduled date. Those who have utilized state or collective materials, motor vehicles, mechanical equipment, and labor force without compensation or at lower prices than necessary are required to reimburse them at prices posted by the state at that time or as required. Those who have damaged state or collective property, saplings, seedlings, or fruit

plantations are required to make compensation for such losses. The regulations also point out: There are state cadres who have been accused of abusing power and of misconduct in violation of discipline in the course of building homes for themselves. As long as they can explain their problems clearly, examine themselves conscientiously, and make prompt compensation for the losses, they shall be entitled to lenient treatment or exemption from punishment. Disciplinary action shall be taken by the party and government against those few disobedient ones who are accused of serious misconduct. Severe punishment shall be meted out to those accused of extraordinarily serious misconduct who have refused to correct their errors, who have obstructed the investigations, and who have answered investigations with reprisals. Violators of the criminal law shall be dealt with according to the law.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### TEXT OF SPEECH BY ZHANG WENJIN AT 36TH UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Beijing ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO GUOWUYUAN GONGBAO [Bulletin of the State Council of the People's Republic of China] in Chinese No 22, 1981, 25 Nov 81 pp 707-712

["Speech Presented by Zhang Wenjin [4545 2429 2882], Chief Delegate of the Chinese Delegation, at the 36th UN General Assembly"]

[Text] Mister Chairman: First, permit me to congratulate you on assuming the chairmanship of the UN General Assembly. I also wish to take this opportunity to express heartfelt congratulations to the people of Belize who have finally won their independence after a long struggle, and to welcome the Republic of Vanuatu upon its entrance into the United Nations

During the past year, people of all nations have opposed imperialism, hegemonism, colonialism and racism by carrying out effective struggles and by strengthening mutual aid, and they have made significant contributions to world peace. Nonetheless, the world still remains in a state of crisis, old problems remain unsolved while new problems continually develop, a number of illegal actions which trample on the basic principles of international relations remain unchecked, Third World countries are directly suffering extreme losses and the entire world still faces the danger of war.

It is all too clear that the Soviet Union is greatly consolidating and expanding its military strength and has strengthened its global warfare deployment. On the one hand the Soviet Union continues to employ military force to occupy land belonging to other nations and to butcher the inhabitants, and it continually employs armed force to threaten intervention in the domestic politics of other nations. On the other hand, the Soviet Union uses political and economic tactics to insinuate itself everywhere and then take advantage of all possibilities to create chaos and utilize that chaos to seek out new paths and openings. The facts prove that the Soviet Union has not changed its policy of world hegemony and that there has been no change in its southern strategy to carry out this policy. However, the Soviet Union



continually encounters setbacks. It has a number of weak points, so that while it continually employs its policy of aggression and expansion it increasingly carries out deception by making such suggestions as "disarmament" and "political solutions," and conducts "peace offensives." The underlying purpose is that of misdirection in order to conceal its own face of hegemonism and to deceive and lull people of all nations. Conditions such as these belie the belief that the Soviet Union is already in a defensive posture, unable to act and in such difficult straits that it is planning a withdrawal is entirely out of line with objective reality in the international situation. The aggression and expansion of Soviet Union hegemonism are a major threat to world peace and opposition to hegemonism is a major factor in preserving world peace.

Mister Chairman: The Afghan and Cambodian issues are two great events which trample upon the constitution of the United Nations, destroy the basic principles of international relations and threaten world peace and the security of all nations.

Both the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia with Soviet support constitute the use of armed force to completely conquer and occupy neighboring states. If such illegal and immoral actions are not stopped and are allowed to become an accomplished fact, then this will serve notice to aggressors that they can occupy the territory of and feed off their weaker neighbors without opposition. What justice or principles can then be said to still exist in international society? What security is there to speak of for the broad membership of the United Nations, especially those Third World states which lack power?

The Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan and Soviet Union support for the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia not only enslave these two countries but are intended as a springboard for further Soviet Union expansion, as well as encircling the Mideast oil producing areas, pressing upon the Straits of Malacca and further threatening the peace and security of the surrounding nations and the whole world. Therefore, if we do not stop the Afghan and Cambodian strategy and if we permit the Soviet Union to continue to carry out its southern strategy even more nations will undergo suffering. At the same time, the gathering impetus of the Soviet Union global strategy continuously increases the factors which lead to the outbreak of war. Only by resolutely opposing the invasions of Afghanistan and Cambodia is it possible to protect the national independence of these two countries. Moreover, this also is the only way to simultaneously weaken and obstruct the southward movement of the Soviet Union, bring a halt to its expansion in other parts of the world and upset its global strategy. For two years the Cambodian people have followed the democratic Cambodian government in carrying out a brave struggle and the Afghan people are conducting a broad resistance movement. These acts not only protect their independence and autonomy but also make a glorious contribution to world peace and security.

It is clear that the situations in Afghanistan and Cambodia are the major issues of the world today, and that a just and reasonable solution can be reached only through unremitting struggle. We believe that all just, peace-loving nations and people will be steadfast in their concern for the Afghan and Cambodian issues and that the long term nature of the struggle will strengthen their fighting will.

Many countries have suggested a search for political solutions to the Afghan and Cambodian issues, and this is quite correct. The question is, what sort of principles should provide the foundation for the political solutions? The many resolutions of the UN General Assembly regarding the Afghan and Cambodian issues, and the resolutions issued by the Conference of the Leaders of Islamic States in January of this year, the Conference of Non-Aligned States in February, and the International Conference on the Cambodian and Afghan Issues in July have all emphatically stated that the Afghan and Cambodian issues can be resolved only if all foreign troops withdraw from these two countries, if there is respect for the autonomy, independence and territorial integrity of all nations, and if people of all nations are permitted to conduct their own affairs without any out interference whatsoever. China agrees to and is willing to support the broad member nations of the UN in struggling to reach a political solution, and the number one condition for reaching this political solution is the withdrawal of all foreign troops. However, the Soviet Union and Vietnam with Soviet Union support stubbornly insist upon holding on to Afghanistan and Cambodia. This is the basic reason why it so far has not been possible to reach a solution for the Afghan and Cambodian issues. Under conditions such as these the Afghan and Cambodian people must continue to wage their sacred struggle of national defense. Recently, patriots of all factions in these two countries have strengthened their unity in order to more forcefully resist the foreign aggressors. International society is duty bound to continually use all methods whatever to support and aid the righteous struggle of the Afghan and Cambodian peoples.

The only way to force the aggressors to even consider withdrawing their troops is to subject them to increasingly heavier attacks on the battlefield and increasingly greater pressures in international relations. Therefore, increased pressures on the aggressors from all sides are a precondition to finding a political solution to the Afghan and Cambodian issues. On the contrary, a weak or even disorganized anti-aggression armed struggle or the use of methods which harm or even sacrifice the interests of the state or the people to induce or persuade the aggressors to make any "concessions" will only incite the hegemocrats to greater arrogance and cannot be of any help in reaching a true solution to the problems.

The recent Soviet Union and Vietnamese "proposals" regarding solutions to the Afghan and Cambodian issues are all based on acceptance of the status quo created by the aggressors in those two countries. Any agreement reached on the basis on these proposals would be the equivalent of accepting "a new Munich," and would easily yield to the aggressors that which they have so far been unable to attain on the battlefield. This obviously cannot be permitted.

The government of China believes that there should be immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and Cambodia, a restoration of the independent and non-aligned status of these two countries and provisions made for Afghanistan and Cambodia to choose their own system and government in free and democratic elections. The government of China wishes to reiterate: After the Afghan and Cambodian issues have been solved according to the above mentioned principles, the concerned nations should join together in providing international guarantees that they would in no way interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Cambodia, would not occupy the territory of these two countries and would not use their territory to transgress against the independence and autonomy of any other nations. We hope that this session of the General Assembly will uphold the principles of previous general assemblies regarding such resolutions and will make new efforts in solving the Afghan and Cambodian issues.

During the past year, the Mideast situation not only has not improved but on the contrary has even worsened. Israel stubbornly maintained its expansionist stance, not only continuing to obstruct any reasonable solution to the Mideast question, but carrying out even more violations of the United Nations Charter and the fundamental principles of international relations, and conducted further violence against the Arab states and Arab people. Israel has outrageously attacked the Iraq reactor pile, repeatedly invaded Lebanon, continually bombed the Palestine refugee camps and has publically defied the United Nations resolutions. Israel's outrageous behavior is unbearable and must be stopped. The Chinese government and Chinese people strongly denounce Israel's aggressive behavior and give firm support to the just struggle of the Arab people. Our position is that Israel must evacuate the Arab land, including Jerusalem, that it occupied in 1967. The rights of the Palestinian people must be restored, including the rights to return to their homes, self-determination and establishing their own country. The PLO is the only legal representative of the Palestine people and has the right of equal participation in resolving the Mideast problems. All Mideast states have the right to exist independently. We are pleased to see that many European states and the European Economic Community as well as other countries are making a positive effort in exerting pressures for a solution to the

Mideast Question. Our attitude is as follows: we welcome any suggestions which are beneficial in reaching an overall, just solution to the Mideast question and which bring peace and stability to the area.

In southern Africa, the white supremacist government is becoming increasingly rash in trampling on the United Nations Charter and on the general principles of international relations. South Africa ignores UN resolutions in continuing to illegally occupy Namibia and to strengthen its racist policy of apartheid. It moreover repeatedly makes armed attacks on progressive nations, the most recent was a large-scale invasion of Angola. The reactionary policies of South Africa are a provocation to the people of Africa and are a provocation to the people of the world. We believe that the wishes of the Namibian people and the resolutions of the United Nations ought to be observed by immediately establishing a truly independent Namibian nation on its own territory with national unity. The South African policy of apartheid should be completely exterminated. International society should impose total sanctions against South Africa. We firmly support the strong resolution just passed in the emergency session of the United Nations, and the 1978 Security Council resolution number 435 ought to be carried out without any delay.

Both the Mideast and southern Africa contain an abundance of strategic materials and occupy important geographical positions as well. The Soviet Union has always seen these two areas as a major target of its foreign expansion. It long ago took up the banner of "supporting movements of national liberation" and used a variety of methods to expand its own influence in these areas. The criminal acts of Israel and South Africa not only have brought serious losses to the countries and people in these areas, they moreover have provided opportunities and pretexts for the encroachment of hegemonism and have brought even greater threats to the peace of the Mideast and southern Africa and the whole world as well.

It must be pointed out that the United States has played a major role in supporting and protecting the barbarous acts of Israel and South Africa. The United States has repeatedly expressed willingness to improve relations with the Third World nations and to work with them in protecting world peace. However, it has never admonished Israel and South Africa for their flagrant abuse of the basic principles of international relations, and on the contrary has shown partiality and support, which have placed it in a position of opposition to the Arab and African peoples and the Third World nations. People cannot but ask what is the real significance of such expressions of willingness?

Conditions in the Caribbean area demand attention. The people of these nations have long suffered the exploitation and repression of imperialism and colonialism and they suffer unbearable political and economic conditions. These people have not succeeded in their struggle to gain national independence and national autonomy, nor have they succeeded in their struggle to develop a national economy and carry out democratic reforms. This cannot be denied. On the other hand we see that a superpower and its representatives have taken up the banner of "supporting progressive movements" to interfere in the internal affairs of these nations and insinuate its power in that area. We believe the problems of this area ought to be decided by the people themselves. We oppose all outside interference, no matter what its origin.

The situation in Northeast Asia also is uneasy. The United States has not yet withdrawn its troops from South Korea. The peaceful reunification of Korea has encountered obstructions by South Korea. In October of last year, Kim Il-song, the Chairman of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, made a new proposal for North Korea and South Korea to organize a Korean Democratic Republic. This proposal reflected the urgent wishes of the broad Korean people to unite their homeland and also presented a realistic method of achieving these wishes. We believe that the 34 nation resolution regarding the Korean question passed by the 34th session of United Nations General Assembly should be quickly implemented in order to create beneficial conditions for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea.

During the past year the world suffered not only a series of major political events but also faced severe economic problems. A great many developing nations faced even worse economic difficulties, the economic contradictions between northern and southern countries were sharpened, trade conditions in developing nations continually worsened, the international balance of payments deficit was increased, foreign indebtedness became more severe and they remained basically powerless in international economic relations. Certain developed nations maintained the old system existing in the international economy and increased the dangers for other nations, creating even greater obstacles for developing nations to improve their own economic conditions and making it more difficult for them to realize their strategies of development.

After achieving political independence the broad developing nations then seek independence. This is an irresistible historical trend. The major developed nations do not respond to this trend by revising their unequal, unjust relationships with developing nations. This is the main reason for the increasingly sharp economic contradictions between northern and southern countries.

The economies of all nations of the world are tightly intertwined. The economic development of developing nations is more and more dependent upon the developing nations. If the economies of developing nations remain poor for a long period of time, then from the long term point of view, this will have adverse economic effects on developed nations. Many developed nations also see that economic development of developing nations is helpful in overcoming the present "stagflation" in developed nations. We believe that in the area of economics this basic principle of equality and mutual benefit should be immediately established.

It must also be seen that: The economic difficulties of developing nations and the internal political chaos resulting from it as well as the worsening of the contradiction between northern and southern nations will all provide more openings for plotting by the hegemonists. Therefore, support for the development of an independent economy in the developing nations, pressure for the implementing of reform in the international economic order, and the gradual construction of a new international economic order is not merely an economic question alone but is related to the greater political problem of maintaining world peace and security.

We hope that the major developed nations can take the world situation into account in giving serious consideration to the hopes and aspirations of developing nations and can reach agreement in world-wide talks at this session of the UN General Assembly and at the heads of state conference to be held at Cancun, Mexico. We hope that they will undertake plausible actions to solve the pressing needs of developing nations and improve the relationships between northern and southern nations.

Mr Chairman: The present situation world political and economic situations are gravely dangerous. All people of the world share the hope of maintaining peace. However, peace cannot be given but must be won through struggle. Supporting world peace means opposing hegemonism. Therefore, The people of all nations should unite and act according to their own actual situations and unite to take coordinated actions. This anti-hegemonism unity must be strengthened by respect for authority and rights on all sides and by equality in relationships. On the eve of World War II, certain countries were unable to distinguish the source of the threat and were unable to unite in opposition to the threat, causing the people of the world to pay a heavy price. This is a painful historical lesson.

China has always followed a policy of peaceful foreign relations. In the past the Chinese people suffered their fill of aggression and warfare. We deeply understand the value of peace. The Chinese people now wish to build a modern socialist state and need a

long period of international peace in which to so so. Naturally, China's policy of supporting peace and opposing hegemonism does not stem only from its own interests but also considers the well-being of all people of the world. China is a developing socialist nation which now belongs to and will always belong to the Third World. China wishes to contribute all of its power in joining with the broad Third World nations and with all peace-loving, just nations in supporting the United Nations charter and the basic principles of international relations and in opposing hegemonism and supporting world peace.

Thank you, Mr Chairman.

11582

CSO: 4005/640

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### GUIYANG HOSTS PLA CIVIL DEFENSE MEETING

HK230325 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 22 Mar 82

[Text] The first stage of an on-the-spot meeting on combining the peaceful and wartime uses of civil defense projects, convened by the people's antiair defense committee of Kunming military region, was held in Guiyang on 20 and 21 March. Attending were responsible comrades of the Kunming military region people's antiair defense committee, and responsible comrades of similar committees of Yunnan and Guizhou and of key towns in the two provinces. The state people's antiair defense commission also sent participants.

Kunming military region commander Zhang Zhixiu and deputy commander Zha Yusheng spoke at the meeting. They stressed: the Yunnan and Guizhou civil defense projects that combine peaceful and wartime uses each have their own characteristics. Convening this on-the-spot meeting will further promote mutual learning and exchange of experiences between the two provinces, so that they can learn from each other's good points to compensate for weaknesses, and the projects combining peaceful and wary wartime uses can develop still faster, and provide sooner service for the people and for preparedness against war.

Guizhou provincial CCP committee deputy secretary and vice governor Li Tinggui expressed congratulations on the convening of the meeting, on behalf of the provincial CCP committee and government. He thanked the leading comrades of the Kunming military region and Yunnan provincial people's antiair defense committees for inspecting and guiding people's antiair defense work in Guizhou.

Guizhou governor Su Gang, Guizhou military district commander Ren Ying, and Guiyang municipal CCP committee first secretary (Xia Yewen) also attended the meeting.

CSO: 4005/684



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### WU KEHUA ATTENDS AWARDS PRESENTATION CEREMONY

HK110928 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 10 Mar 82

[Summary] Entrusted by the military commission of the CCP Central Committee, the Guangzhou PLA units held a ceremony this morning to award silk banners to advanced units in the drive to combat floods. Attending the ceremony were responsible persons of the Guangzhou PLA units, leading organs of the Guangzhou PLA units, the Guangdong provincial military district and the Guangxi regional military district. Leaders of the departments concerned of the Guangdong provincial people's government and the Guangxi Zhuang nationality autonomous regional people's government were invited to attend the ceremony. Altogether there were some 1,200 people attending the ceremony, including members of advanced units in the drive to combat flood, PLA unit No 54252, representatives from the military unit of Yangchun County and commanders and fighters of the Guangzhou PLA units. The ceremony was presided over by Chen Xide, chairman of the political department of the Guangzhou PLA units. Wu Kehua, commander of Guangzhou PLA units, read out the citation of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee.

The citation of the military commission said: At critical moments in the natural disasters, the broad masses of commanders and fighters stationed in the disaster areas were able to bring their brave revolutionary spirit into full play and steadfastly struggled against the floods. They have made great contributions by rescuing people and their properties. These advanced units and individuals were commended by the leading organs of the CCP committees and people's government at all levels and the broad masses of the people. The reputation of the PLA units was greatly enhanced, and a closer relations between the army and the people has been built. Thus, the military commission of the CCP Central Committee has decided to issue an order of commendation to PLA unit No 54252 and the military unit of Yangchun County. At the ceremony, commander Wu Kehua and (Mao Mengzheng) awarded silk banners to PLA unit No 54252 and the military unit of Yangchun County on behalf of the general staff headquarters, the political department, and general logistics department.

CSO: 4005/634

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### SHANGHAI MAYOR SPEAKS AT PUBLIC SECURITY MEETING

OW160607 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Mar 82

[Text] At a meeting to commend advanced collectives and individuals of Shanghai's public security front, mayor of Shanghai Wang Daohan said: In the past few years, a handful of wavering and disloyal cadres among our ranks have been corrupted by bourgeois thinking, and a handful of party members and cadres have followed the evil path of smuggling and peddling illicit goods and of practicing speculation and graft, they have seriously violated party discipline and state laws. This situation reflects the present class struggle under new historical conditions and the efforts of class enemies at home and abroad to undermine and corrupt us with decadent bourgeois thinking. Therefore, we must presently regard this struggle as a serious struggle against bourgeois corruption in the fields of politics, economy and ideology. Efforts must be made to adopt extremely stern and resolute measures to strike at the serious criminal activities in the economic sphere.

Wang Daohan said: The NPC Standing Committee recently adopted a resolution to supplement and revise certain articles and clauses of the penal code. We must vigorously popularize such supplements and revisions and resolutely implement them. All leading cadres must earnestly take the lead in studying them. Public security organs at all levels must pay full attention to major criminal cases in the field of economy. First of all, we must conscientiously investigate and handle major crimes that involve responsible cadres. Those who are involved in serious cases and are found guilty must be severely and promptly punished according to law.

CSO: 4005/684

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### DENG XIAOPING SPEAKS AT MILITARY COMMISSION

OW170117 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 8 Mar 82

[Text] "Excerpts" of the second part of the speech by Deng Xiaoping, chairman of the military commission of the CCP Central Committee, at the 26 February enlarged meeting of the military commission:

In recent years, military cadres have been accustomed to a peacetime life. After going through the 10-year turmoil, some people are more interested in fighting among themselves than against foreign enemies. When you are talking about how to strengthen military training and prepare against war, these people are trying to drift along in their slack and perfunctory style. A common saying goes like this: "Maintain an army for a thousand days in order to use it for an hour." Will it do if an army cannot be used at the critical moment?

Of course, we cannot blame these comrades completely. In the past, we shouted too many such slogans as "prepare against war!" "Dig tunnels deep!" and "The Soviet revisionists are bent on subjugating China!" People become apathetic after listening to a lot of them. It is said in the Zhuang Gong 4th year section of the Zuo commentary: "Bravery is what counts in war. People's alertness will relax if a state of readiness is prolonged indefinitely." This statement can be applied in our case. We need to raise the morale of our troops.

Actual combat experience is very important in raising troops' fighting qualities. In the 1979 self-defense counterattack war, we fought only a month. But quite a few good commanders emerged during that war.

It seems that our score with Le Duan and Pham Van Dong cannot be settled at the moment. Now, in the two border provinces, barracks are basically complete and roads built. Let us station troops there on a regular, rotational basis. As I said before, try to attack and withdraw. Fight no big battles, but continuously wage small ones. Avoid sinking too deep and be able to move freely. When there are good opportunities, annihilate one or two regiments. When there are no such opportunities, let our fighters fire at the Vietnamese. This is what we call fighting a political war. This fine tradition of the PLA should not be discarded at any time.

Other military regions may also take turns in sending one or two divisions there or stationing one or two regiments. Ours is a large country with a huge population. We can stand such a situation, but Vietnam may collapse if this situation drags on. We would like to see how long the Soviet revisionists are going to hold this hot potato.

During the war of liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong said: Very few cadres in our army graduated from army colleges. Most of the Kuomintang officers, however, came from regular schools. But they were inferior to us in fighting. I do not mean that school education is not important. What I want to point out is that the experience of commanding troops in battle is invaluable. It will not do to grasp theory alone. War is something that undergoes myriad changes in the twinkling of an eye. Theory may not be applicable at the critical moment. Comrades Yang Dezhi and Geng Biao, remember that in late 1948, a brigade of your second army corps was under attack from front and rear by enemies several times stronger. But it still managed to pin down Mr Fu Zuoyi's 35th Army. Comrade Geng Biao confirmed that it was the 12th Brigade. Would it have been possible to withstand such a fierce battle without the tempering of a long, protracted war?

Comrades present at this meeting have all experiences in commanding troops in action. You know that a veteran fighter can fight better than several new soldiers. It is not enough to conduct peacetime military exercises alone. Did we not fight calmly during the Fakashan and Koulinsan battles last year? Military academies and colleges are right in selecting cadets from among commanders and fighters who fought bravely in the Vietnamese war.

CSO: 4005/684

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NAVAL UNIT HOLDS REVIEW OF SUBMARINE CHASERS

OW211101 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 20 Feb 82

[Summary] "The naval unit stationed in Shanghai today held a review of its submarine chasers on the sea off Wusongkou. Here is an on-the-spot report:

"The sea is calm today. Through the mist, one can see five submarine chasers anchored on the sea in single file. All flags are raised on the submarine chasers."

Sailors have lined up on the deck waiting for the review by their commanders. (Ting Yiping) is commander of the naval review.

"Present at the review are (Chen Jiujiang), deputy commander of the naval unit stationed in Shanghai; (Yu Shuwen), chief of staff of the same naval unit; and (Liang Changshou); deputy chief of staff of the East China Sea Fleet."

From the flagship, one can see the neat appearance of the sailors in formation on the decks of the submarine chasers for the review.

Following the review, the reviewing officer and other leading comrades go aboard the submarine chasers and ask sailors about their training, studies and work.

"This submarine chaser unit has begun today to take regular training for some time. Today's review was its first assignment in the training. Through the training, these submarine chasers will further improve their capability of fighting individually and in coordination."

CSO: 4005/684

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BEIJING PLA COMMANDERS, FIGHTERS PLANT TREES

OW220209 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1635 GMT 21 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 21 Mar (XINHUA)--The broad masses of commanders and fighters of PLA units stationed in Beijing took part in obligatory tree planting today in parks and other key areas designated for greening.

This morning, Li Yaowen, navy political commissar, led more than 1,000 cadres and fighters to plant pine trees around Chairman Mao's Memorial Hall at Tiananmen Square. Working energetically with picks and shovels in defiance of hardships, the commanders and fighters fulfilled their tasks as scheduled ensuring both quantity and quality. Under the leadership of political commissar Gao Houliang, air force cadres and fighters arrived at the Lianhuachi Park where they dug more than 400 holes and planted more than 200 trees in the morning. Commander Li Shuiqing [2621 3055 3237] and political commissar Chen Heqiao [7115 7729 2890] of the 2d artillery unit led more than 400 cadres and fighters to engage in obligatory tree planting in the Beibinhe Park, the Rendinghu Park and the Xiaotangshan nursery. The commanders and fighters paid special attention to transplanting more than 100 torch pines at the Beibinhe Park. The torch pines are saplings imported from abroad.

Early this morning, Fu Chongbi, deputy commander of the Beijing PLA units, arrived in the Badachu Park in the west hills with office cadres and fighters to engage in obligatory tree planting where they leveled ground, dug holes and opened ditches. At the Zhongshan Park, cadres and fighters of the Beijing Garrison Command, together with park workers, transplanted trees and grass. Leading comrades Pan Yan [3382 8746] and Wu Lie [0702 3525] reminded all others to protect the tree roots in transplanting to ensure growth. Braving the chilly spring breeze, the commanders and fighters removed their jackets and planted plum trees and flowering crabapples on the slope of the southwestern rock garden in the park where the soil was extremely hard. Political commissar Liu Younguang [0491 2589 0342] and deputy director Chen Bin [7115 1755] of the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission also led office cadres and fighters in tree planting in Tucheng, Beijing City. Liu Younguang said: Tree planting is also a science; we should treat it as a serious matter the same way we treat scientific research.

In the morning of 20 March, leading comrades of the PLA general staff department Zhang Zhen, He Zhengwen, Liu Huaqing and Chi Houtian led office cadres and fighters to plant trees in Sanlihe. Sun Yi [1327 3015], advisor to the PLA general staff department and a Red Army veteran nearly 80 years old, removed his jacket and started to work as soon as he arrived at the site. He said: "Vice Chairman Deng and other revolutionaries of the older generation have taken the lead in tree planting. How can we sit still?" Old cadres and new fighters helped and competed with one another at the site in enthusiastic spirit.

CSO: 4005/684

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### YANG YICHEN SPEAKS AT PUBLIC SECURITY FORUM

SK260554 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT  
25 Feb 82

[Text] According to our sources, Yang Yichen, first secretary of the provincial CCP committee, and Zhao Dezun, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, recently presided over a forum on Harbin's public security. The forum urged efforts to mobilize all party members, tackle problems in a comprehensive manner and strive to achieve a decisive improvement in public security this year.

Attending the forum were Wang Zho, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and second secretary of the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee; leading comrades of some grassroots units in Harbin; and responsible comrades of provincial and Harbin's departments concerned. The participants heard reports on experiences of some advanced police substations and neighborhood committees in Harbin and reports of Harbin municipality, analyzed situations in urban security and discussed ways to achieve a decisive improvement in public security.

Comrade Zhao Dezun and Wang Zhao spoke at the forum. Comrade Yang Yichen gave an important speech.

The participants held: Harbin municipality has done a great deal of work in straightening out social order and scored great achievements. A number of police substations and neighborhood committees advanced in public security work have emerged. However, Harbin's social order has not been substantially improved. The contrast between today's social order and the best period in history is very great. The CCP Central Committee urged efforts to achieve a decisive improvement in public security, social practice and party style this year. The three aspects are interrelated. The party style is the core, the social practice is the foundation and the public security is the key point. We should emphasize the key point. The main goals of decisive improvement in public security are as follows: Incidents of criminal cases should be substantially reduced, especially hold-ups, rapes and break-ins; the number of juvenile crimes should be substantially reduced along with the improvement of party style and social practice; public security cases should be largely reduced; public places should maintain normal order; the masses should be mobilized to engage in public security work; the relations between police and the people should be strengthened; the bad should be afraid of the good; and the masses should feel secure.



The participants pointed out: It is very likely to achieve a decisive improvement in urban public security this year. We should have faith. Harbin's January crime rate dropped substantially compared with that in December last year. This is a good start in achieving a decisive improvement. Facts prove that it is wrong to be passive, fear difficulties and do nothing.

The participants held: The basic way to achieve a decisive improvement in public security is to mobilize all party members and comprehensively implement policies to tackle problems in an all-round way. It is necessary to strengthen the ideological and political work, conduct propaganda in a big way, spark an upsurge, relentlessly and vigorously attack active counterrevolutionaries and serious criminal activities, and never show any soft-heartedness. It is necessary to create momentum to publicize legal systems and frighten enemies. We should mobilize the masses to spread a dragnet so the criminals have no way to escape and to dampen criminals' arrogance. We should mobilize the forces of all circles to be held responsible for each unit to maintain social order. It is necessary to strengthen grassroots organizations and political and legal contingents. Since Harbin municipality is the center of our province's politics, economy and culture, its public security can affect the whole province. The participants urged efforts to score achievements in strengthening Harbin's public security in a short period to set an example for the whole province and enable [words indistinct].

CSO: 4005/684

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### JILIN CONVENES PUBLIC SECURITY CONFERENCE

SK270247 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Sponsored by the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee, a provincial work conference held in Changchun on consolidating public security in a comprehensive way concluded on 24 February. The conference relayed and implemented the instructions issued by the CCP Central Committee on intensifying the work of politics and law, and the Central Committee's emergency circular on dealing blows at economic crimes. At the conference, participants analyzed the public security situation throughout the province, summed up and exchanged experience gained in the work to consolidate public security in a comprehensive way and made further arrangements, in combination with the party as a whole, to consolidate public security in a comprehensive way.

The conference held: The achievements scored by our province in consolidating public security in a comprehensive way are only initial ones. The current public security situation remains unstable.

The conference urged party committees at all levels to make further efforts to strengthen their leadership over the work, to earnestly implement the principle of consolidating public security in a comprehensive way and to continuously popularize the experience gained by Siping municipality and exchanged at this conference so as to bring about both an overall implementation of various measures adopted in consolidating public security in a comprehensive way and greater results. The conference urged political and legal organs to resolutely deal blows at or stamp out counterrevolutionaries and criminal activities harmful to socialist construction, social stability and unity. Efforts should be made to adhere to strictly punishing in a timely manner and in line with the law, criminal elements who seriously jeopardize public security so as to achieve a decisive turn for the better in provincial public security work this year.

CSO: 4005/684

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### AIR FORCE UNITS INTRODUCE EXPERIENCE IN EDUCATION

OW240453 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Text] According to JIEFANGJUN BAO, the PLA Air Force recently called a meeting to exchange experience in conducting education on revolutionary ideals gained by some selected units. Representatives from 16 units introduced their experience which covers the following major points:

In order to conduct the course of revolutionary ideas in a systematic way, efforts should be made to give five special lectures among all personnel-- "revolutionary ideals reflect the orientation of our advance," "one's personal interests must be subordinated to the interests of the revolution," "strenuous efforts must be made to put ideals into practice," "revolutionary ideals must be reflected through action," and "the key to fostering revolutionary ideals lies in our efforts to study well the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong, and put emphasis on studying the history of social development and works of Marx, Lenin and Mao Zedong in the course of conducting education in revolutionary ideals."

Meanwhile, many other units have also held various kinds of meetings to discuss such questions as "How to make the best use of a fighter's youth," "How to write one's personal history in an honest way" and "How to learn well the revolutionary ideals." Furthermore, they have also made strenuous efforts to learn the advanced ideas and deeds from model students Lei Feng, Li Shicai and Li Junjia. Other units have organized personnel to visit museums of Chinese revolution and cemeteries for revolutionary martyrs.

Having undertaken education on revolutionary ideals for several months, a certain number of advanced units and individuals outstanding in building spiritual civilization have emerged among the selected air force units.

CSO: 4005/684

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'NANFANG RIBAO' COMMENDS HONEST PUBLIC SECURITY MAN

HK190243 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT  
18 Mar 82

[Text] The 19 March NANFANG RIBAO frontpages a newsletter introducing the fine record of Lufeng County public security bureau deputy director (Peng Shi), who sticks to principles, performs his official duties with honesty, refuses gifts and pursues no private interests in the course of carrying out his work of taking charge of examining and approving applications to leave China. The paper also carries an attached commentator's article entitled "A Good Example in Possessing Power Without Pursing Private Interests."

The article says: Comrade (Peng Shi) has not wavered in the slightest in the face of cash and material lures. This is because his ideology consists entirely of serving the people, without any individual greed. In his mind are the party's cause and the masses' interests. He intends to pass the party's fine traditions and work style on to his posterity, instead of an inheritance gained by force or trickery.

And a fundamental reason why some party members fight a losing battle in the face of sugar-coated bullets and even embark on the path of crime is that they become very greedy under corruption by capitalist ideology; they pursue cash and materials and individual comforts.

Bourgeois individualistic thinking is the root of all evil. There is truth in this statement, to be able to resist corruption in the face of corrosion by capitalist ideology, we must seriously reform our world-outlook and establish the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly.

CSO: 4005/684

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

PORT INSPECTION--To promote deep development of the all-people civility and courtesy campaign, some dozen responsible comrades of the North China Sea Fleet on the morning of 13 March inspected sanitary conditions at the military port, naval vessels and barracks in Qingdao and examined the soldiers' discipline, appearance and bearing. They made some corrections during their inspection tour. Noting a soldier's army cap not being worn properly, commander Yang Li helped him put it straight. Discovering a soldier with comparatively long hair, commander Yang Li said: You must not wear long hair if you stress civility. During his inspection of a naval vessel, fleet political commissar (Li Changru) closely examined some corners and discovered a layer of dust. He told the cadres: This is not up to standards. Keeping the vessels clean should be regularized and institutionalized. In addition to examining sanitary conditions at the wharf, in barracks and aboard three naval vessels, they also sport-checked the discipline, appearance and bearing of over 500 commanders and fighters. [Text] [SK150210 Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 Mar 82]

LEARN FROM LEI FENG--Today is the 19th anniversary of the inscriptions written by Comrade Mao Zedong and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation for Lei Feng. Some 100,000 CYL members, young workers, students, public security cadres and policemen as well as commanders and fighters of the PLA in Nanchang municipality launched activities of learning from Lei Feng today. They visited various streets, stores, stations, wharfs and other public places to perform good deeds for the people despite the rain. Their activities were aimed at carrying forward the spirit of Lei Feng during the all-people civility and courtesy month. All commanders and fighters of the 2d Battalion of PLA unit 32731 left their camps early in the morning despite the rain and went to nearby stores, schools, stations and wharfs with carts and tools to sweep away rubbish, pave roads and repair bridges. They continued their work even as their uniforms got wet. The people praised them and said: Every PLA man is like a living Lei Feng. [Excerpts] [OW081135 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Mar 82]

POLITICAL COMMISSAR SHOT--(Gao Yun), commander of a flight regiment of the Nanjing PLA units and first-class airman, who received a second-class order of merit in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, shot and killed divisional political commissar (Dong Hailing) because he resented being forced to submit a request for transfer to civilian work. He then committed suicide to escape punishment. [Text] [OW171423 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 Mar 82]

CAB DRIVER'S ATTACK--At a meeting with a well-known American personage, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Recently, I went elsewhere to rest for nearly a month, and there was much conjecture abroad and even quite a few rumors about attempts on my life. I think all this is quite laughable. However, once when I was in my car passing through Tiananmen Square, a cab driver, probably with some political background, tried unsuccessfully to run head-on into my car. [Text] [OW220924 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 21 Mar 82]

ADVANCED COLLECTIVES, INDIVIDUALS COMMENDED--The Jiangsu provincial people's border defense armed police units held a meeting of representatives of advanced collectives and individuals 15-18 March. At the meeting 7 advanced collectives and 160 advanced individuals were commended. The provincial people's border defense armed police units is an armed force organized in 1980 for carrying out public security and defense missions. It has scored outstanding achievements in strengthening defense, investigating crimes and maintaining social order. At the meeting, comrades exchanged experiences and pledged to make still greater contributions in improving social practices and public order. Hong Peilin, Standing Committee member of the provincial CCP committee and vice provincial governor, attended and spoke. He said: The people's border defense armed police force shoulders an honorable and arduous task. Its organization and management must be in line with the party's concept and principle on army building. It must meet the public security organs' requirements for border defense work and must strengthen ideological and political work as well as military training to continuously raise its combat effectiveness. [Text] [OW211044 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Mar 82]

CSO: 4005/684

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### MEASURES OF SUCCESS OF ONE-CHILD FAMILY PROGRAM EXAMINED

Beijing RENKOU YANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] in Chinese No 4, Oct 81 pp 59-60

[Article by Xi Jianwei [9352 1696 0251], Department of Planning and Statistics of People's University: "On the Methods of Calculating the 'Only-Child Ratio' Indices"]

[Text] To check up on the implementation of the policy of encouraging and rewarding each couple to have only one child, it is necessary to set up a complete system of statistical indices in which each index should, by means of its defined criterion, show the progress of work in a certain aspect.

The only-child ratio is an important index in this system of indices. At present, various places and units do not always use the same method to calculate this index. Some articles in newspapers and magazines use this index without any clear conception of it. In different articles and reports, this index expresses different meanings. To facilitate the making of analyses and comparisons, it is necessary to unify the methods of calculation.

At present there are mainly two methods of calculation, the results of which have different meanings and show conditions in different aspects.

(1) The only-child ratio is expressed by a ratio between the number of women who have only one child for life and the total number of women who have borne children. The formula is as follows:

$$R = \frac{A}{B} \times 100 \text{ percent}$$

R: The only-child ratio

A: The number of women who have only one child for life

B: The total number of women who have borne children.

In the above formula, B excludes those women who will not get married and will not bear children during their lifetime. Of course, the determination of a truly reliable only-child ratio depends on the conclusion of the childbearing period of women of a certain age group, or on the sterilization of all of these women. In other words, statistics can be developed only when these women truly cannot bear children. This is impossible in practice. In practical statistics, A is divided

into 2 parts: 1) The number of women who have only one child and who have passed the childbearing period or have been sterilized; 2) The number of women who have received certificates for families with only one child. They still are fertile but have pledged not to bear a second child. The formula will be changed to the following:

$$R = \frac{C + D}{B} \times 100 \text{ percent}$$

C: The number of women of childbearing age who have received certificates for families with only one child

D: The number of women with only one child who are no longer fertile.

$$B \text{ (in both formulas)} = \sum_{x=1}^n f_x$$

In the above,  $f_x$  is the number of women who have borne  $x$  number of children, and  $n$  is the maximum number of children that women can bear.

This is the meaning of the only-child ratio, which at present all newspapers and magazines have mentioned in their discussion of planned birth control and population forecasts. For example, when we say that the urban only-child ratio will reach 95 percent in 1985, we actually mean that at that time only 5 percent of women in cities will bear two or more children during their lifetime.

According to this method of calculation, when the number of women of childbearing age who have received certificates for families with only one child increases--that is, when  $C$  becomes larger--then  $R$  will go up. Generally speaking, under present conditions, the only-child ratio of all units cannot go up very high, and still less can it reach 100 percent. When women of childbearing age who have one child, and who have not received certificates for families with only one child, again give birth to a second or third child, the only-child ratio will not change as a result. This is the shortcoming of this method of calculation.

(2) The only-child ratio is expressed by a ratio between the number of women of childbearing age who have received certificates for families with only one child and the number of women of childbearing age who have one child at present. The formula is as follows:

$$R = \frac{C}{E} \times 100 \text{ percent}$$

E: The number of women of childbearing age who have one child at present.

This method of calculation can show the progress in the implementation of the policy of encouraging each couple to have only one child. At present when newspapers and magazines report on the progress of this work, they use this index in this sense. For example, when it is said that the only-child ratio of a certain



unit reached 99 percent at the end of 1979, it means that at the end of 1979, on average, 99 of every 100 women of childbearing age who had only one child had received certificates for families with only one child.

The shortcoming of this method of calculation is that its application to the survey of the work of planned birth control shows a certain one-sidedness. In the same example, if the only-child ratio of this unit rose to 100 percent at the end of 1980, such progress could have been brought about by [one of] two factors: either during 1980 the 1 percent of women of childbearing age who had not received certificates applied for such certificates, in which case the formula would be  $(99 + 1)/100 = 100$  percent; or else during 1980 another 1 percent of the women of childbearing age who had one child gave birth to a second child, in which case the formula would be  $99/(100 - 1) = 100$  percent. A survey on the basis of this index alone will cover up the internal contradiction of the index. If other indexes are not applied, the expression of the only-child ratio will be incomplete.

From the above, it can be seen that the only-child ratio index which is being used at present has two meanings by itself. It does not help to express the real conditions in various places, nor does it help to carry out the work of comprehensive analysis and guidance on statistical indexes. In consideration of the fact that the results of the aforementioned two methods of calculation separately show different aspects of the work, both should be retained. We may call the result derived from the second method of calculation the ratio of certified families with only one child, or in short the "ratio of certification." It shows the progress of the work of issuing and receiving only-child family certificates, and it indicates the changes in the number of persons chosen as targets of the work of encouraging each couple to have only one child according to the policy. For example, when the ratio of certification of a certain unit rises from 80 to 90 percent, despite the fact that this change in the index figure cannot definitely indicate whether the work of planned birth control has made any progress, it nevertheless explains that in the future the number of persons taken as targets of the work has decreased by 10 percent.

It should also be pointed out that, at present, some places and units try only to raise the only-child ratio, and the units at higher levels also rely mainly on the attainment of this target to judge the results of the work of planned birth control in their subordinate units. This is not a comprehensive method. From the above analysis, it can be seen that whichever method of calculation is taken, the only-child ratio is going to have certain limitations.

With the first method of calculation, in places and units where the proportion of newly married women of childbearing age is small and the proportion of women of childbearing age who have borne two or more children is fairly large, the only-child ratio may possibly be fairly low but the ratio of certification quite high, and the work of planned birth control is very likely well done. On the other hand, in places and units where the proportion of newly married women of childbearing age is fairly large, a higher ratio of only-child [families] will probably cover up a rather low ratio of certification. These two instances illustrate that we cannot rely only on a high or low only-child ratio to judge the work of planned birth control in a certain place or a certain unit.

With the second method of calculation, it is even less possible to judge the extent of progress made in the work of planned birth control. The reason is that a higher only-child ratio may be the result of the success of the work, or it may be created by the fault of the work.

Even if a survey is made on the basis of both the only-child ratio and the ratio of certification, it will still be very inadequate. Therefore we must make a comprehensive survey of the work of family planning in various places and units by means of an all-round analysis of the index of the absolute figures of persons who marry late in life, of persons who bear children late in life, and of persons born; the index of the relative figures of one-child ratio, family-planning ratio, and birth-control ratio; and the dynamic tabulation of all indexes in a certain period. From such a survey we can arrive at correct conclusions for the guidance of our work.

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CSO: 4005/578

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GUIZHOU HOLDS PLANNED PARENTHOOD CONFERENCE

HK191505 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 2315 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] On the evening of 17 March, the Guizhou Provincial CCP Committee and the provincial government held a telephone conference on planned parenthood work, demanding that CCP committees and governments at all levels seriously study, universally publicize and resolutely implement the instruction on further doing planned parenthood work well which was recently issued by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council and the several provisions of the policy of the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government on planned parenthood work and further do planned parenthood work well. Wang Chaowen, secretary of the provincial CCP committee, presided over the conference. At the conference, Zhang Yuqin, vice governor, read the several provisions of the policy of the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government on planned parenthood work. Miao Chunting, deputy secretary of the provincial CCP committee, spoke at the conference.

In his speech, after summing up planned parenthood work some time in the past, Comrade Miao Chunting pointed out: In the current planned parenthood work, it is essential to grasp two things:

First, we must grasp the remedial measures for pregnancy outside the plan. We must take the remedial measures as early as possible for those who are now pregnant outside the plan, regardless of whether they are pregnant for the second time or more.

Second, we must grasp the measures to carry out planned parenthood. Only by grasping the fundamental key link of planned parenthood and seeing that those who should not give birth to children take the measures for planned parenthood can we improve the quality of planned parenthood work.

Therefore, in the future, all places must regard the implementation of the measures for planned parenthood as a key point of planned parenthood work so that the rate of planned parenthood throughout the province will be raised relatively high.

Comrade Miao Chunting said: All places and units must publicize to all cadres, staff and workers and the masses the instruction of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council and the provisions of the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government, organize discussions and seriously implement them.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HEBEI PLANNED PARENTHOOD PROGRESSIVES MEETING OPENS

HK180645 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 10 Mar 82 p 1

[Report: "Provincial Representative Meeting of Planned Parenthood Progressives Opens"]

[Excerpts] The Hebei provincial representative meeting of planned parenthood progressives opened in Shijiazhuang on 8 March.

Li Xiuzhen, vice chairman of the State Planned Parenthood Commission, is attending the meeting.

Also present at the opening were leading comrades of the provincial CCP committee, people's congress Standing Committee, government and CPPCC Jiang Yizhen, Liu Bingyan, Guo Zhi, Yin Zhe, Zhao Yimin, Yue Zongtai, Wang Yu, Wang Dongning, Xu Chunxing, Cao Youmin, Ge Qi, Han Qimin, Zhang Xiaodong, and Bai Yun.

Provincial CCP committee second secretary Jiang Yizhen made a speech. Provincial CCP committee secretary Yin Zhe conveyed the Central Committee and State Council "Instructions on Further Doing Good Job in Planned Parenthood Work." Vice governor Han Qimin delivered the opening speech.

Hebei Province has scored notable success in planned parenthood work since 1971. The natural population growth rate fell from 20.2 per 1,000 in 1970 to 9.2 per 1,000 in 1980. Some 4.6 million fewer births than would normally have been expected were recorded in 10 years. The province initially reversed the situation of unplanned population growth. By 1981, 1.08 million people of child-bearing age who had 1 child had taken out single-child certificates. The province carried out 1,315,000 contraceptive operations of all types, and 72 urban districts and rural communes accomplished the aim of nobody having more than 1 child. However, population growth has started to show a relatively great rise again since last year, due to the fact that planned parenthood work has not conformed well to the changed economic situation.

Comrade Jiang Yizhen said in his speech: It is now imperative that the province get a good grasp of planned parenthood work. How to ensure that population growth conforms to the growth of the national economy is a major problem we have to solve. Planned parenthood is a big affair related to our country's socialist modernization drive. The future focus in our planned parenthood work will, as before, be on advocating that each couple has only one child.

Comrade Jiang Yizhen demanded on behalf of the provincial CCP committee that the party committees and government at all levels and the cadres seriously implement the Central Committee and State Council "Instructions on Further Doing a Good Job in Planned Parenthood Work." They must firmly embrace the strategic idea of controlling population growth, and must not equate advocating that each couple have only one child with "leftist" errors. They must take a correct view of the "difficulties" in their work, press forward in the face of the difficulties, step up propaganda and education, launch the masses and do their work well, to bring about a new situation in the province's planned parenthood work.

CSO: 4005/685

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### GUANGDONG REGULATIONS ON PORNOGRAPHIC TAPES

HK200533 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT  
19 Mar 82

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee issued a circular on 19 March on implementing the regulations of the Central Committee and State Council on strictly banning the export, duplication, sale or display of reactionary pornographic audio and videotapes. The committee also approved for circulation a report by its propaganda department on further strengthening controls over audio and videotapes.

The report stipulated: The party committee propaganda departments and the government cultural, public security, radio and television, and industry and commerce administration departments are responsible for all-round registration and handling of all existing videotape machines and videotapes. Cinemas and theaters, entertainment and sports centers, halls belonging to organs, schools and enterprises, and television rooms in cultural palaces and centers are not allowed to show videotapes from Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan, and foreign countries. The showing of internal videotapes is limited to films on science and technology, culture and education for technological and professional reference and those needed for special professional purposes. Such showings must be approved by the provincial CCP committee's propaganda department after examination. The customs will only release imported videotapes for professional reference after approval has been given by the provincial CCP committee propaganda department.

The report also stipulated: sound program videotape reproductions that are produced in cooperation with foreign businessmen in the form of compensation trade or processing of raw materials for foreign customers must be strictly examined by the provincial broadcasting affairs administrative bureau and the provincial CCP committee propaganda department, and reported to the provincial CCP committee and government for approval. Production must cease of all such tapes which are reproductions of reactionary and pornographic materials produced in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and foreign countries. Unsold tapes of this type must all be cleaned; they may not be sold in the markets. Factories and other enterprises and units engaged in processing of raw materials for foreign customers are not allowed to

copy on blank tapes reproductions of Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan or foreign sound programs. Individual stalls making copies of Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan or foreign videotapes for customers must be resolutely banned from doing so. Offenders will lose their business license.

The report points out: offenders against the regulations will be strictly handled in accordance with the spirit of the central and provincial CCP committee regulations. Those who engage in smuggling or underground production and make use of or display reactionary and pornographic audio or videotapes and lewd books and pictures in order to make a profit will be punished as having committed a double crime.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

IMPORTANCE OF REGULATIONS ON PORNOGRAPHY DISCUSSED

HK170840 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 15 Mar 82 p 1

["Attention Notice" from the YANGCHENG WANBAO editorial department to the paper's correspondents and to its contributing reporters in Guangdong Province]

[Text] The CCP Central Committee and the State Council recently promulgated the "Regulations on Strictly Prohibiting the Import, Duplicating, Selling and Broadcasting of Reactionary, Pornographic and Obscene Sound and Video Tape Recording Products." The "regulations" are important and effective measures for upholding the four basic principles, overcoming the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization in the ideological field, and opposing the infiltration and corrosive influence of capitalist culture. In view of the actual situation in Guangdong Province, we should attach special importance to and resolutely implement the "regulations."

"The tree may prefer calm, but the wind will not subside." Some people will violate the "regulations" sooner or later. Some people think that the wind which is stirred up will stop anyhow. They, therefore, lie low with the aim of staging a comeback in the future. If that is so, cultural filth and dregs will emerge once again. For this reason, in addition to relying on party committees in all areas to strengthen administration, the press circles should also shoulder the responsibility to supervise. Therefore, we hope that from now on, if our correspondents and contributing reporters spot people engaged in openly violating the central authorities' "regulations" and poisoning the masses with "spiritual opium," they should immediately and thoroughly investigate and check such people (do not listen to hearsay) and accurately and quickly report the situation to the paper so that the paper can publicly expose such people. Whenever we spot such people, we should expose them without delay. If there are such people year after year, we should expose them year after year. We must make sure that the cultural filth can no longer poison the masses. If there are people who dare to harbor and connive with and do not strictly take party and government disciplinary actions against those party members and cadres violating the "regulations," our correspondents and contributing reporters should also quickly report such an offense to the paper. Following the promulgation of the "regulations," party and government departments in all areas have adopted effective measures to implement them and have also achieved successes. We do hope that press coverage of such successes will be organized without delay. Thank you.



SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI RADIO COMMENTARY CALLS FOR CREMATION

HK120946 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Mar 82

[Station commentary: "Create a New Funeral Style"]

[Excerpts] The Fuyouyuan brigade of the Chengxiang commune of Mianyang County and the Xiaotiao brigade of Jianli County have persisted in making funeral and burial reforms and have achieved gratifying results. A new socialist style has been created there. Doing away with the old funeral custom of burying the dead in the ground and energetically promoting cremation, first of all, helps make more cultivable land and resources available to the state and reduces expenses for the collective and the bereaved family. Second, it helps eliminate feudal superstitious activities and emancipate people from the spiritual shackles of the feudal rites of several thousand years left over by the reactionary ruling class-rites calling for elaborate funerals and burial in the ground. Funeral and burial reforms must be effected. In the past few years, for various reasons, old funeral customs have asserted themselves in some rural areas of our province. Extravagant and wasteful practices and other unhealthy practices are common.

Some people have even built tombs and set up gravestones on their private plots and "responsibility" plots, freely appropriating the collective's cultivable land. This situation has aroused great dissatisfaction on the part of the masses of cadres and people. They say that elaborate funerals involve a waste of land and money and so as much harm to the bereaved family as to others.

In order to effect funeral and burial reforms, we must rely upon the masses. The cadres must lead by example. The Fuyouyuan brigade of the Chengxiang commune of Mianyang County has provided us with valuable experience. Correct leadership must be exercised at all levels. Funeral and burial reforms must be taken as a part of the effort to build socialist spiritual civilization. Our cadres and party [words indistinct] and relying upon them. So long as all this is done, we have every confidence that a new socialist funeral style can surely be established in the vast countryside of our province.

CSO: 4005/685

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

QIAO XIAO GUANG ATTENDS PRESS WORK CONFERENCE

HK170913 Nanning Guangxi Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 16 Mar 82

[Excerpts] On the morning of 16 March, at the regional conference on press and correspondence work, He Yiran, member of the regional CCP committee Standing Committee and director of the propaganda department, said that the press must be reformed and papers and broadcasts must have a new outlook. CCP committees at all levels must strengthen leadership over press and correspondence work, establish and perfect a correspondence and reporting network and bring into full play the role of correspondents. He required that party committees at various levels appoint a leading comrade to be in charge of the work and that the regional CCP committee and people's government organize a group headed by a vice director of the propaganda department to promote this work. Part-time correspondents on various fronts and in various departments are the main force in correspondence and reporting work. It is necessary for various press units to strengthen their contacts with them and bring their initiative into play.

Regional CCP committee first secretary Qiao Xiaoguang attended the conference and met some representatives of the correspondents. Member of the regional CCP committee Standing Committee and secretary general Liu Yisheng, propaganda department director He Yiran, deputy directors Zheng Shaodong, Zhang Bin, Zhong Ximin and other responsible cadres attended the conference.

This conference was jointly sponsored by GUANGXI RIBAO and the Guangxi Regional Broadcasting Bureau.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### FORUM STRESSES ROLE OF COLLEGE POLITICAL COURSES

OW181331 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0743 GMT 18 Mar 82

[Text] Beijing, 18 Mar (XINHUA)--How should institutions of higher learning further strengthen and improve the teaching of political theory as well as ideological and political work in the new historical period? The propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee and the Ministry of Education jointly invited some teachers of political theory, teachers of specialized subjects and political-work cadres at institutions of higher learning in Beijing to join a forum. At the forum, which was held from 12 to 15 March, those present held discussions and exchanged their experience in this regard.

The participants included some outstanding teachers of political theory and experienced political-work cadres at institutions of higher learning. The comrades at the forum, citing facts, said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, many institutions have taught the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and carried out ideological and political education according to what is on the students' minds. As a result, a great deal of good, useful experience has been gained, and a number of outstanding teachers of political theory and political cadres good at doing ideological work have come to the fore. A gratifying change has taken place in the students' political and mental outlook.

The participants held: The aim of education in political theory and of ideological and political work at institutions of higher learning is to guide students to foster the proletarian world outlook and learn to apply Marxist theory in viewing and handling problems to enable them to become successors with both professional knowledge and communist consciousness who are willing to serve the motherland, the people and society. This is a glorious but arduous task.

The forum unanimously held: To do a good job in ideological and political education at institutions of higher learning, it is necessary to make use of many channels, such as by conducting courses in political theory, education on the current situation and political work, and to rely on all teachers and political-work cadres in doing so. All channels should share in the work and cooperate with one another. No channel should be substituted for another, and no channel should be strengthened to weaken another. The

time for teaching political course should not be used for some other purpose on the pretext of strengthening ideological education. The ideological and political work shared by all teachers and cadres should not be shifted to political instructors. Otherwise, it would weaken the effort to teach courses in political theory.

The forum also discussed ideological and political work as a science designed to step up research and study into the laws governing the formation of the students' political and moral outlook and their philosophy of life.

At the forum, some institutions of higher learning briefed the participants on the initial results achieved in setting up moral and ideological and political education research offices, on their experiences of including ideological and political education in the teaching of specialities and theory, and on the work of looking after the students' everyday life and of teaching students how to conduct themselves while imparting knowledge to them. These institutions of higher learning also expressed their views on the criteria for the college students' moral education.

The participants also dealt with the current shortcomings and difficulties in the teaching of political theory and in ideological and political work and discussed measures to overcome these shortcomings and difficulties.

Wang Huide, deputy director of the propaganda department of the CCP Central Committee, and Zeng Delin, vice minister of education, addressed the forum. Wang Huide said: The vivid, useful experiences in teaching political theory summed up at the forum should be vigorously popularized. The central and local authorities may frequently hold similar forums in order to strengthen and improve the work in this field. Pending the issuance of new regulations on offering courses in political theory, all universities should strictly implement the provisions of the "trial measures for strengthening and improving Marxist courses at institutions of higher learning" issued by the Ministry of Education on 7 July 1980. It is wrong to substitute specialized subjects, technical courses or education on the current situation for courses in basic theory, such as philosophy, political economy, scientific socialism, the history of the international communist movement and the history of the party, or to use the former to weaken the latter.

Wang Huide continued: The basic aim of the college courses in political theory is to arm students with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and to guide them to foster the proletarian world outlook. The courses in political theory should not be regarded simply as courses through which we can impart the scientific way of thinking and professional knowledge to students. Through systematic education in Marxist theory, we should foster the communist spirit, the collectivist spirit and the sense of being masters of the country among students so that they will be able to resist bourgeois corruption ideologically, theoretically, socially and culturally and to become both socialist-minded and professionally proficient personnel in building socialism. This is particularly important as our country is now pursuing an open-door policy. It is a matter of great importance that concerns the country's destiny.

Wang Huide added: It is necessary to improve the methods of teaching political theory. Such teaching should be vivid and linked to reality. The students should be inspired and guided to use their brains. Through hard thinking and discussion, the students should conscientiously recognize and accept Marxism. Only in this way can Marxism become part of them and of their world outlook.

Zeng Delin briefed the participants on the college students' progress and ideological tendencies and called on them to conduct education in political theory with a specific aim in mind.

Also attending the forum were responsible persons concerned of the research office of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat, the college work department of the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee, the CYL Central Committee and various school party committees.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

**BEIJING OPERA PERFORMANCE**--Well-known Beijing opera performer (Guan Sushuang) from the Yunnan Beijing Opera Theater is performing at the Laodong Theater in Shanghai. "Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Zhong Min, Xia Zhengnong, Chen Yi and other leading comrades watched the performance. At the end of the show, Chen Guodong and the other comrades warmly congratulated (Guan Sushuang)." [OW152147 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Mar 82]

**SOONG CEMETERY**--"Soong Family Cemetery," where the late chairman of the PRC, Soong Ching Ling, is buried will soon be expanded into a cemetery park. On the morning of 10 March, Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Wang Daohan and other Shanghai municipal party and government leaders viewed the model of the cemetery after expansion." According to the expansion plan, the Soong Family Cemetery will be expanded to about 2,000 square meters and a statue of the late Comrade Soong Ching Ling will be placed there. The first stage of the project will begin after the first anniversary of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's death. [OW131045 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Mar 82]

**OFFICIAL ON PORNOGRAPHY**--A responsible person of the Guangdong Provincial People's Procuratorate was interviewed by reporters on 19 March on the regulations of the Central Committee and State Council banning reactionary and pornographic audio and videotapes. He stressed: "Those in possession of such items must immediately hand them over to the departments concerned in accordance with the regulations. Those who do so voluntarily will not be prosecuted. Those who conceal and fail to report them will be dealt with severely. Those who hinder and resist handing them over and continue to poison the masses will have extra sanctions levied against them." [HK200535 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 19 Mar 82]

**GUANGZHOU COURTESY DRIVE**--Yesterday [16 March] afternoon Ren Zhoungyi, Liu Tianfu, Liang Lingguang, Li Jianzhen, Wu Lengxi, Chen Yueping, (Xu Shijie) and Luo Peiyuan, responsible comrades of the Guangdong Provincial CCP Committee and provincial people's government and the Guangzhou Municipal CCP Committee and municipal people's government, inspected "all-people civility and courtesy month" activities on the streets and in the grassroots units of Guangzhou's Haizhu District. [Excerpt] [HK170314 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 16 Mar 82]

YOUTH MAGAZINE STAFF--Comrades Wang Shoudao and Xiao Ke received the staff members of the office of NIANQING REN (YOUTH) magazine on 23 March. Wang Shoudao and Xiao Ke said during the reception: "Not only young people like reading NIANQING REN, we like it too." They urged the office staff to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and science and technology, and run the magazine still better, so as to encourage young people to contribute to building the two civilizations. [HK240246 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 23 Mar 82]

TAN QILONG ATTENDS OPERA--A Sichuan provincial meeting to exchange experiences in modern theatrical works was convened in Chengdu on 22 March. The Zigong municipal Sichuan opera troupe was invited to Chengdu for the occasion to give a demonstration performance. Provincial CCP committee first secretary Tan Qilong, executive secretary Yang Rudai, secretary Du Xinyuan and others watched the Zigong troupe's performance on 21 March. [HK230307 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 82]

CSO: 4005/685

## CASE OF POET WHO CRITICIZED GENERALS' PRIVILEGES REPORTED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 52, 1 Feb 82 pp 20-24

[Article by Yen Yue: "A Bomb Thrown at Special Privilege"]

[Text] Document No 30 Calls the Roll

Document No 30, a mobilization order for the criticism of liberalism issued by the CCP Central Committee in August 1981, prominently mentions the names of two writers. One is Bai Hua. The other is Ye Wenfu [5509 2429 4395], a soldier-poet who achieved worldwide fame with his poem entitled, "General, You Can't Do That." These two were designated by the highest echelon of the CCP as the target of a thoroughgoing nationwide criticism. Now Hu Yaobang has declared that the problem of Bai Hua has been resolved. Then how about Ye Wenfu?

Regarding Bai Hua and Ye Wenfu, the latter was the man who personally offended CCP strongman Deng Xiaoping and forced him to order the issuance of Document No 30. Over the question of whether poet Ye Wenfu should be openly criticized, disgraced and punished, ultraleftists led by high-ranking military generals have made a serious challenge to the pragmatists who are firmly in power. In fact, the feud between the two groups over Ye Wenfu has been just as severe as that over Bai Hua. The only difference is that the "Bai Hua case" is now out in the open, while the "Ye Wenfu case" is still shrouded in secrecy.

If we want to get down to the truth, we must be prepared to spend time and effort to peel off the shroud of secrecy layer by layer.

The Poem "General" Creates a Touch-and-Go Situation

Ye Wenfu once said: "Poetry, it is a bomb!"

The poem "General, You Can't Do That" is indeed a bomb that can go off at any moment. The poem was published in SHI KAN [POETRY JOURNAL] in August 1979 and it created an instant sensation in the Chinese literary world. It struck a chord in the hearts of everyone who was a victim of the widespread havoc wreaked by special privileges. It is the first heavy bomb thrown at the privileged class in modern days. It indeed struck some of the generals where it hurt.



Soon a hue and cry was raised. The footsteps of those who came to "investigate" and to "verify the facts" sounded incessantly. Some came to find out whether the tearing down of a kindergarten by a general to make room for the construction of a private villa was current "news" or a "fait accompli" that had taken place some years ago. Some came out to demand an answer: Is the general referred to in the poem really the famous "General Zhen with the pock-marked face"?

Ye Wenfu was quick with his response to criticism. He dashed out two articles in defense of his unyielding position against the accusations heaped on him by the generals.

His first article was published in the 1979 issue number 11 of YALU RIVER, entitled, "Who Is the Real General and How Did I Write 'General, You Can't Do That'?" He said that whenever he saw the excesses of the privileged class, "I would remember, with pain in my heart, the two characters in my poem--Chin Ershi and Yang Quang.... Is it possible that our earth-shaking proletarian revolution, because of various historical limitations, is doomed to the same tragic end as all the feudal dynasties that preceded it?.... It brings to mind the irreconcilability between democracy and special privilege."

He was blunt in pointing to the roots of the privileged class of military generals: "In our party's armed forces, the peasants form the predominant majority...but are they the proletarian revolutionists? Now the traits that were the hallmarks of their backward class are finally asserting themselves. They are corrupting our proletarian party with their shortsightedness shared by all insurgents in history."

Poetry is a form of art. The general in any poem does not have to be somebody with a "pock-marked face" in real life. The general may be Chin Ershi. Or he may be Yang Quang. He may be the personification of the small peasant class within our party. He may be the artistic recreation of the bureaucracy in general. That is Ye Wenfu's answer regarding the identity of the general.

#### Feudal Socialism

His second article, entitled "Spasms of Pain That Followed the Liberation of the Mind--After the Publication of 'General, You Can't Do That,'" was published in MANG ZHONG in the same month as his first. In this article, he poked fun at the generals who took issue with him: "Some generals were once unafraid of bullets. How come they are now afraid of a pen and a poem? Once they would do anything to let the public know of their exploits. How come they now want the people to know nothing about the building of villas? My poem 'General, You Can't Do That' is like a small river eel making a small ripple in the water, yet it brings down a whole stream of accusations on me. It is now clear that the main opposition to democracy comes from a number of leading cadres within our party. In other words, there are some national leaders who have a deep-seated dislike of democracy, just because democracy is the archenemy of special privileges."

In this article, Ye Wenfu went on to discuss the relationship between democracy and the prospect of achieving the "four modernizations." He argued that opposition to special privileges is as important as preventing socialism from degenerating. His poetic indignation was evident between the lines as he wrote: "The mentality of feudal autocracy offered Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' a shortcut to reach the inner circle of the leadership structure. Our rejection of scientific socialism would take us back to the old path of feudal socialism. Without true democracy, there will never be any four modernizations. If any shadow of modernization should rise, it would be the leftovers after the various levels of bureaucracy had had their pickings. Such leftovers are not what the people want. The mentality of feudal autocracy and bureaucratism are the worst enemy of the modernization of China. Should our party fail to face the reality and fail to mount a resolute, thoroughgoing and relentless struggle against the mentality of feudal autocracy and the backward bureaucratism, the so-called Chinese-style modernization would be just a nickname for feudal socialism!"

This brings to mind an incident of nomenclature. At the time the CCP was drafting a "Nine-Point Critique" of Soviet revisionism, there was considerable agonizing over what name to give to the Khrushchev brand of socialism. Finally a bright fellow thought up the name "social imperialism," which was then given to Mao Zedong to be used in his speeches. Today, if socialist China does not face up to the harm of special privileges and is content only to pay lipservice to "democracy of the highest degree," without making any moves toward true democracy, the term "feudal socialism" will be here to stay. In this article, Ye Wenfu gave voice to what is on the minds of most people when he said: "People want true democracy, not the sham democracy which they have known for some time. This is becoming an irresistible trend."

#### Opening a Bloody Path

Ye Wenfu carried on with his fight against the vicious accusations of the generals, using his bomb-like poetry as his weapon. His "Ching Ming Festival, the Dawn of Spring" was a poem dedicated to the heroes who took part in the 4 April Tien An Men incident. It was published in the 1980 number 4 issue of ANHUEI LITERATURE. With poetic language, the poet lamented the prevalence of the ultraleftist influences and called upon the readers to put up a relentless struggle:

"Alas, cold fronts can still attack during the season of spring. We must not lower our guard. As spring flowers blossom on our faces, we must remember that it is also the time for the awakening of the poisonous snakes in their caves. Alas, there are still tigers blocking our routes of advance. We must not put our guns and our swords in storage yet. As we march ahead toward modernization, we must remember that there are tigers lurking in the tall grasses."

"With spring comes unpredictable weather patterns. A ray of sunshine may be followed by cloudiness and fog. Sunshine is not a gift from above. We must part the dark clouds and open up a bloody path for sunshine to come through."

Ye Wenfu's 600-line poem entitled: "Ode to Youth" was published in June 1980 in the 1980 issue number 3 of SHOU HUO [HARVEST], in which the poet paid heartwarming tribute to the younger generation which is participating in the four modernizations program, expressed heartfelt sympathy for the agony the youngsters went through during the "Cultural Revolution," and compared China in those troubled years to a mother with calcium-deficient milk:

"O Mother, your calcium-deficient milk gives us all sorts of trouble. No wonder we polio victims will fall off the high-hanging cliffs as we negotiate the hairpin turns of life's course. What a pity--we only recognize the weather vanes, but not the dialectics. Then the storms blow us all the way to an icy Antarctic island, where we come upon the veil of our times...."

By lashing out at special privileges, promoting democracy, giving encouraging words to the young people, and eulogizing the four modernizations, Ye Wenfu came to terms with our times and gave them voice. This is why he has become a towering figure in the world of letters, an idol of thousands upon thousands of young people, and a formidable one-man social force.

Inviting the Generals To Go for a "Wash"

In mid-1980, Ye Wenfu wrote several other poems.

By then the criticism from the generals was escalated into acts of harassment. The atmosphere of free expression was getting muddled. But Ye Wenfu did not buckle under the pressure which the privileged class brought to bear on him. In fact, he fought just as valiantly as before.

At the end of 1980, Ye Wenfu was invited to make a speech at the Beijing College of Iron and Steel, where he revealed the source of inspiration for his poem "General, You Can't Do That." He said he wrote it out of righteous indignation after he had seen the large-scale construction projects being undertaken within the red walls of the Zhong Nan Hai government compound and had found such extravagance not quite in keeping with the traditions of our party.

After telling his audience about the accusations being heaped on him and the pressure being brought to bear on him, he openly called upon the young people "to dare to draw attention to the ugly side of our current life in their writings" and "to dare to criticize special privileges." Then he raised his voice and declared: "I myself have the audacity to do just that."

In an excited tone, Ye Wenfu told his 200 listeners that a new bomb he had thrown at the privileged class would soon go off. The new bomb referred to his latest works. One of them was entitled, "Generals, Go for a Good Wash," and the other, "Musings, My Endless Musings." Both of them appeared in print in January 1981, the first published in LIAN CHI [LOTUS POND] and the second in MANG ZHONG. Both of them are being openly criticized at present.

In "Generals, Go for a Good Wash," the poet rendered a famous quotation of Mao Zedong, "Cadres at all levels must wash their hands and feet clean and travel light," into poetry and implored the privileged class to go and wash off their preoccupation with privileges in the long river of history.

The poet intoned: "Yes, generals, you should have a good wash...but not in this kind of bathtub--all these are standard modernizations. How can you look upon modernization as a young girl whom you can molest at will?"

The poet compared the "revolutionary" slogans used by the privileged class as deceitful advertising. "If the products do not measure up to your advertising claims, you may sell them at a good profit the first time, but how can you expect to sell them easily the second time?"

The poet questioned the "generals": "Is yours the kind of revolution designed to unseat somebody so that you can sit in his heavy, gold-engraved chair?"

#### Comparing Our Party to Xi Shi

"Musings, My Endless Musings" is the story of a zealous young man facing a death sentence, a victim of persecution. In this poem, the poet describes in the first person the feelings of this young man before his execution:

"As I move my eyes, the eyes of a communist, from 'Das Kapital' to realities and from 'The Communist Manifesto' to my current blood-blurred nightmare, I see an infant Chinese proletariat locked in a battle to the death with endless autocracy.

"Our party is but a Xi Shi [a famous beauty in ancient times]. She has been sneaked into a secret chamber and laid down on a mattress for gang rape. Then she begets one big lie after another. Toxicant mixed with honey is now poisoning a whole generation of ignorant souls."

These poems carry an unmistakable political message. They lash out at the privileged class like long whips until the latter's faces are covered with bruises. Worth mentioning here is the fact that in both poems "the raping of women" is used figuratively. Is the choice of word intentional or unintentional?

We all know that currently a novel entitled "Fei Tien" [Flying to the Sky] is in wide circulation. It tells the story of the rape of a young girl by a military general. It has become a favorite subject of social gossip. The increasing public condemnation of the likes of the general portrayed in the book has intensified the hatred of the lecherous generals toward expose-type literature. Here Ye Wenfu chooses to rub salt into the wounds and takes the "rape of modernization by special privileges" and the "rape of our party by autocracy." By so doing, the poet injects into his poetry stronger potency as a weapon against special privileges.

#### Twenty-Five Generals Blow Their Tops

The publication of "Generals, Go for a Good Wash" and other poems once again enraged the military top brass.

The military sent out some cadres to question Ye Wenfu: "You mentioned a bathtub worth 10,000 yuan; are you sure about this?" Ye replied: "To be

exact, the bathtub is worth 9,600 yuan." The cross-examination continued: "Who is the general in your poem?" Ye replied: "Why can't you find out for yourselves?" Later, a group of local writers also came to dig up the facts. Ye told them curtly: "It's all fictional." As their investigation struck a dead end and turned up no discriminating evidence against the poet, the generals blew their tops.

A subsequent development poured more fuel on the generals' anger. The motion picture entitled "The Sun and the Man" adapted from the movie script "Unrequited Love" by Bai Hua was released for showing to selected audiences. The generals were infuriated by the implication in the motion picture that the public security forces were as bad as the Kuomintang forces. They could not tolerate the anti-Maoist theme, the blackening of their "idol" by incense burning, in the movie.

Now the problem of Ye Wenfu was being compounded by the problem of Bai Hua. The two problems infuriated the military top brass. They convinced themselves that the intellectuals were getting too bold and were going to far. The angry generals decided to shoot off two fast arrows.

The first arrow was in the form of a petition signed by 25 generals recommending a dishonorable discharge for the soldier-poet Ye Wenfu. The petition went to the highest level of government. The second arrow was in the form of a request to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs to ban the showing of "The Sun and the Man."

Telling an Officer of the Central Disciplinary Commission To Go and Ask Lu Xun

The minister and vice ministers at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs realized that they had a hot potato on their hands. They did not know what to do with the movie adapted from Bai Hua's script. If they banned the showing, they would antagonize the people and the intellectuals. If they allowed the picture to be shown to the general public, they would incur the wrath of the military brass. So they did the logical thing--they kicked the problem "upstairs." They requested instructions from their superiors.

In the meantime, the ministry sent some cadres to work on Ye Wenfu. The cadres advised Ye to bend with the wind and to go easy, but Ye told his visitors:

"Go back to tell your minister that I don't like any of this."

Soon after that, an officer of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission was sent to call on Ye Wenfu. He insisted that Ye tell him whether the general portrayed in his poem "Generals, Go for a Good Wash" was the commander of a certain unit. In his questioning, the visitor's tone of voice gave the impression that Ye Wenfu was making a "false accusation" with his poem and therefore Ye was guilty of "libel." Ye Wenfu could not longer hold his temper. He replied angrily: "Please go and ask Lu Xun [a writer well-known in the 1920's and 1930's now dead]. Ask him who is Ah Q in his novel 'The Story of Ah Q'."

That was a wonderful answer.

#### His Sensational Lecture at the Beijing Teachers University

On 4 April 1981, Ye Wenfu gave a sensational lecture at the Beijing Teachers Univeristy, under the title "My poetry and Me." His audience numbered 600-700 people.

Ye's lecture covered the following areas:

##### About his poetry--

"When I was still a private in a certain army company, the movement to learn from Lei Feng was at its height. After a normal day's work, we were as tired as a heap of clay. Yet we were still required to push a broom, as Lei Feng did. I would have none of that. I chose to be a poet."

"The secret of my success is being faithful to my own feelings. I am what I am. I don't take advice from my friends. I don't let myself to be pushed around. I want to be myself in my poetry."

"I write about unimportant, but transparent and fragrant souls. The souls of great men are not necessarily transparent."

"I wrote the poem 'Reveries Under a Pomegranate Tree' when I was on my way to Cha Zha cave in Chungqing city. I saw that tree. Somehow I felt that the leaves on the tree were the eyes of the martyrs watching the four modernizations. If the people at the Central Discipline Inspection Commission had better eyesight and could watch the goings-on as martyrs do, we would not be in the situation we are in."

"A common denominator of poets of all ages is their discontent with reality. Poetry, it is a bomb!"

##### About his opposition to "leftist" influence and to special privileges--

"Because of what I wrote in my poetry, 25 generals jointly sponsored a motion to give me a dishonorable discharge. If there had been 25 generals who would have joined forces to resist the advance of the eight-nation allied force during the Boxer Uprising, they would have stopped the foreign invaders dead in their tracks."

"When the Bright Emperor of the Tang Dynasty had his royal concubine Yang in his arms, what could he do as a leader?"

"A number of comrades have tried to talk me out of speaking out at a time when the political climate is not favorable to outspokenness, and they mean well. But I am not afraid. If Wen Iduo [5113 0001 1122] dared to speak out at a time when our society was completely dark, what do I have to fear when things are merely grey at present?"

"When a general can tear down a kindergarten to make room for a villa and can buy a bathtub worth 10,000 yuan, what good is it to talk about the 'four modernizations'? When can we expect the villas being built in Beijing to be built in the rural areas as well? How many families of the general public have moved into the exclusive 'Three Front Gates' residential area in Beijing?"

"Our revolution has done away with a lot of shackles, but in the meantime it has acquired some new shackles of its own. I am not here to stir up trouble. I am here to make an academic report. This is because poetry grows out of the same soil."

"I am said to have benefited from the new social order, to have been liberated. But we are still being twisted around somebody's little finger. Are we asking too much when we want a new social status and when we want to stand up and be counted?" "The geese are flying in a formation shaped like the Chinese character 'man.' But man can no longer survive on the ground. You geese, please take the dignity of man with you to the sky."

"Where there are more beasts around, there is greater need for us to defend the dignity of man with our lives."

About Mao Zedong, the party and the nation--

"Mao Zedong was a despot. He was worse than all the emperors in history. He did all the bad things the dynastic rulers ever did. The tragedy of Mao Zedong proves that we are living in a ridiculous time."

"The structure of our national leadership is shaped like a pagoda, unlike the United States where there are Congress and local bodies putting a check on the government."

"As soon as the constitution was promulgated, I wrote a letter to Peng Zhen complaining that the constitution was not worth the paper it was written on. This is because the CCP is the ruling party in China. If the constitution put no restraints on the power of the CCP Central Committee, it would serve no purpose."

Deng Xiaoping Angrily Gave Order

Soon after the lecture, Deng Xiaoping received a report from one of the teachers at the Beijing Teachers University describing the event.

Deng Xiaoping was angry at the insolence of Ye Wenfu. He was even more angry at the fact that out of the 600-700 people listening to Ye's lecture, only one person had the presence of mind to report the event, an indication that the party cadres are apathetic.

He decided that it was time to call a temporary truce with the ultraleftists so that he could first put the literary house in order before the writers could do more harm by confusing the people. That way he could conserve his strength for a coup de grace against the remnant ultraleftist forces at the opportune moment.

It was against this background that Document No 30 of the CCP Central Committee was issued. The document says that the intellectuals today are further to the right than the rightists of the year 1957. It says that a responsible person in a writers federation in Xinjiang Autonomous Region even went so far as to proclaim that while the novel "Flying to the Sky" described the rape of a young girl by a general, there are at least 20 to 30 actual rapes committed by generals which are known to the public. None of the men now living or having lived in Zhong Nan Hai, with the exception of the late Premier Zhou Enlai, is clear of sexual offenses. The document then goes on to describe the audacity of Ye Wenfu, while speaking at the Beijing Teachers University, in comparing our time to the darkest years of the Kuomintang rule and in calling upon his listeners to follow the example of Wen Iduo in "angrily rising at his desk to speak out." The document designates Ye Wenfu as one of the main targets for the nationwide criticism of liberalism.

Thus the movement to criticize liberalism, dubbed a "nonmovement," was born.

Who is "Fanatic?"

Judging by the action of the last 2 months of 1981, criticism against Ye Wenfu did reach a frenzied state. While all of the articles critical of Ye Wenfu had a lot to say, they all had little to tell.

The articles made no denial of the fact that special privileges existed. Neither could they claim that special privileges were above reproach. What they did say was that while militating against special privileges, Ye Wenfu used the wrong approach and got mixed up with contradictions of two different kinds. They accused Ye Wenfu of "strong individualist exhibitionism." What is "individualist exhibitionism?" Is it wrong to be somewhat "fanatical" in castigating special privileges. If what Ye Wenfu did should be described as "fanaticism," would the joint condemnation of Ye Wenfu by 25 generals qualify as "fanaticism?" If poems failing to distinguish between the contradictions of two different kinds deserve criticism, why wouldn't the motion to give Ye Wenfu a dishonorable discharge, which is also a case of failing to distinguish between contradictions of two different kinds, deserve criticism?

To be honest, Ye Wenfu's bold speech at the Beijing Teachers University did smack of "fanaticism." The government wanted to criticize it, but chose not to for fear of revealing the contents of Ye's speech to the public.

The "Leftist" Lords Have a Go at Ye's Wife

As the movement to criticize Ye Wenfu got underway, the "leftist" lords began to laugh in private. They began to go around collecting "ammunition" with which to fire a salvo at Ye Wenfu. Ye Wenfu's hometown is Puqi in Hubei Province. A year or so before, Ye had been there visiting with relatives. So the "leftist" lords rushed to Puqi, where they learned that Ye had made the following remarks which no one should make: "In a country led by communists, to speak one's mind is to invite trouble. This is a tragedy."

"There were people who worshipped Mao. Now there are people who worship Deng. I am not a Maoist. I worship nobody."



Ye Wenfu's wife is the deputy leader of the Chu theatrical group. The "leftist" lords then went to that group and found out that the name of Ye's wife is He Xiaochun [0149 2556 2504]. She is a member of the CCP and was a schoolmate of Ye Wenfu during intermediate school years. So they sought out He Xiaochun and told her:

"Listen, we've heard that Ye Wenfu is planning to divorce you. He said you are not pretty."

One fellow even went so far as to write an article entitled, "Poet, You Can't Do That!", criticizing Ye Wenfu for wanting to divorce his wife. He was about to send it to the NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY for use as "Internal Reference Material," but Ye's wife stopped him.

If the "leftist" lords have "ammunition," Ye Wenfu has a "bomb" of his own. Rumor has it that before the publication of his poem "Musings, My Endless Musings," Ye Wenfu deleted the following lines from his poem:

"Chairman Mao met Hitler in the world of the dead. Hitler shook Chairman Mao's hands and told him: You did a splendid job."

Ye made the deletion because he knew China was not ready yet for those lines. If there were more democracy in the country, he could be expected to write a poem critical of Mao Zedong, like the poem entitled "Phantom."

But he did write a short four-line poem entitled "Sunset," published in the 1980 issue number 9 of HEBEI LITERATURE, poking fun at Mao Zedong. The poem goes:

No amount of good wishes  
Can keep you here.  
You've been up in the sky for too long,  
It's time for you to kiss the earth....

At present, the pragmatists are in power and in firm control. They are not facing any serious threat from the ultraleftists. However, while they may make certain compromises and even concessions to the ultraleftists, they must never go overboard in their appeasement. It is obvious that the broad masses of intellectuals are behind the political line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee sponsored by Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang.

Nevertheless, they also realize that the achievement of the four modernizations is contingent on true democracy, and that to achieve true democracy they must criticize bureaucracy and autocracy in order to wipe out special privileges. While in doing so they may say something out of line, they must not be regarded as being as dangerous as floods or wild beasts. The real danger comes from the ultraleftists. They are as dangerous as floods or wild beasts. If those in power want to beat up the leftists with one hand and grab the "rightists" with the other hand, they will find themselves attacked from both sides.

If they can weed out the ultraleftist poisonous weeds and bring down more rain of democracy, healthy cultural and ideological seedlings will soon cover all of China like a green carpet.